

PHD

Loneliness: An analysis of beliefs, experience and communication

Garrett, Mario Dominic

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LONELINESS :
AN ANALYSIS OF BELIEFS,
EXPERIENCE AND COMMUNICATION

Submitted by Mario Dominic GARRETT

for the degree of Ph.D

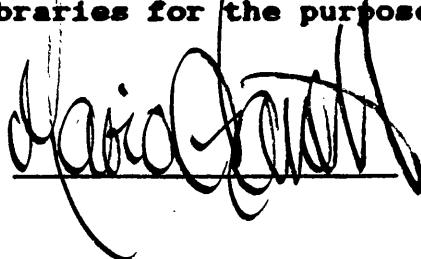
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Dedicated to my mum and dad

Memorandum

The work reported here was carried out in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences and School of Management at the University of Bath, and at the Department of Economics at the University of Surrey. This research was funded for two years by a Bath University Postgraduate Scholarship.

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Mario Dominic Garrett.

July 1988

Abstract

ABSTRACT

For many people the experience of loneliness is endured and coped with on a private level. It is rare that individuals have the chance to talk about and share what they feel when lonely. This study is concerned with exposing this private experience and to understand how and why people report loneliness. This thesis is organised around five chapters.

The introductory chapter outlines a critique of the socio-cognitive approach to the study of loneliness. Although this approach has dominated the area, it is argued that;

- a) it minimises the importance of how the experience feels in favour of how people think about loneliness, and
- b) implicitly assumes that cognitive correlates of loneliness are sufficient in explaining and predicting loneliness.

The proposed alternative model is based on two basic principles which are developed from anomalies within the socio-cognitive approach and from current psychological studies in the area of affect. These two principles are;

- a) that related thought does not necessarily cause loneliness, and
- b) that the permanence of loneliness could be better explained by being aware of the wider social involvement of relationships.

The three empirical chapters reported in this study test and elaborate these basic principles of affect. In the first empirical study, participants were asked to generate a series of twenty questions to test whether an individual was lonely

Abstract

or not. The results showed that others evaluate loneliness predominantly by how the experience is reported to feel. As a consequence, it was argued that loneliness acquires meaning not so much from related activities or thoughts but from its relation to other emotions, especially depression. This phenomenon was termed as an 'affective tautology' and refers to the semantics of loneliness being acquired by its relationship with other emotions.

The empirical results in chapter four developed this finding, by selecting factors from a longitudinal study which correlated highly with loneliness and applying LISREL IV analysis to test for causal paths. It was found that although loneliness is associated with what people report thinking, these indices are not exclusive causes of the experience. Therefore thoughts which are reported with loneliness are not complete causal explanations of loneliness. The argument developed is that since any reporting of loneliness is made within a social setting (however small the setting is) the experience is, nevertheless, 'translated'. It is not surprising therefore that several attempts at predicting the duration of loneliness, on the basis of such translations, have on the whole, generated inconclusive results. The main objective of the fourth study was to investigate what this social setting is for loneliness. The results from interviewing recently divorced and widowed women, and retired Roman Catholic priests showed that intense and consistent loneliness was not only a reflection of a greater disparity between past intentions and current relationship state, but

Abstract

that there is also a subtle implication of how the individual expressed his or her relationship within a social setting. Loneliness is therefore seen as a succinct evaluation across one's personal history which transfers over to the present.

The argument which is developed in the concluding chapter is that this 'transference' of the affect of loneliness maintains the experience as a characteristic trait. The contention is that although the reporting of loneliness involves language and social consensus, the experience is an individual expression. How the individual reacts to loneliness is related to wider aspects of the individual's social and personal life particularly to their intent, conduct and type of loss of their personal relationships.

The theme of this study is that it is the feeling of loneliness which should be the primary concern because it is a succinct expression of a whole history of events.

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1. CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1. ABSTRACT

1.2. INTRODUCTION

**1.3. THE SOCIO-COGNITIVE APPROACH TO LONELINESS
AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY AND METHODS**

1.3.1. BEHAVIOURAL CORRELATES OF LONELINESS

1.3.2. SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION

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CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

'I think there should be greater attention paid to the emotions experienced in everyday life '
Weiner (1982).

1.1. Abstract

Why is loneliness important as a concept for psychological investigation? A cursory glance at the text books on emotion will show that loneliness is rarely mentioned (eg Strongman, 1978; Izard, 1977; Denzin, 1984; Plutchik & Kellerman, 1980; Candland et al, 1977). This is despite the fact that loneliness is explicitly stated to be an emotion by different taxonomists (eg DeRivera, 1977; Davitz, 1964). Although this lack of representation is changing in the current interest in emotion (eg Harre, 1986) overall academic interest has not reflected the general human condition. The experience of loneliness is a daily reality for a large proportion of the population.

One American study (n=7,680) found that 26% of the random people questioned had felt very lonely at some point during the proceeding few weeks (Bradburn, 1969). Another national American sample (n=2,600), randomly surveyed by telephone, indicated that 11% had experienced extreme loneliness during the week prior to the call (Maisel, 1969). A comparative study in England showed that 24% of those sampled (n=1,801) reported that they feel lonely sometimes, 4% reported feeling lonely every day, and 14% that they feel lonely at least once a month. Loneliness is not only part of the normal vocabulary which people use to evaluate their social and personal

relations, but is also a common enough state in western societies to be called universal (D'Abo, 1972).

These frequency reports of loneliness suggest that loneliness is a central reality for some individuals. But what do people mean when they report feeling lonely? The way that this question has been addressed by psychologists has directly influenced the way that loneliness has theoretically developed.

The developing interest in loneliness reflects the general interest in psychology as a whole. Within this period the socio-cognitive paradigm, the belief that how we think about a situation determines how we react, has dominated psychological interest in loneliness.

As a consequence the first part of this introductory chapter examines how the socio-cognitive approach has come to dominate the type of research carried out and presents its contribution towards our understanding of loneliness. The concluding critique points out that although this approach has advanced our understanding of loneliness by examining how people think about its causes, it has nevertheless channelled interest away from the experience as a whole. In contrast the second part of this chapter examines the application of an 'Affective' view of loneliness. This type of analysis is presented as a unique approach to the study of loneliness.

This chapter is organised around three distinct headings;

- a) The development and contribution of the socio-cognitive approach,

- b) The development of the affective approach and its possible contribution in theory and methods to the study of loneliness,
- c) The conclusion proposes an integration of these two main approaches to formulate the basic thesis of this study.

1.2. Introduction.

The introduction of loneliness in psychology emanated from two medical sources. In 1930 Menninger wrote about the 'schizoid' and 'artistic' personality which he considered to be responsible for loneliness. This clinical approach sees 'schizoid loneliness' resulting in an uncontrollable disassociation from reality and which is distinguished from 'artistic loneliness' where there exists a voluntary need for seclusion. Menninger believed that nearly all creative originality is conceived under this artistic state of loneliness.

In a similar way to Menninger, Freud also saw loneliness as a paradox, having both a beneficial or damaging result (Freud, 1926). It is interesting to note however that it was the psychopathological aspect of loneliness which gained exclusive momentum. As with Zilbourg's (1938) argument that the root of loneliness is the patient's narcissistic and megalomaniac tendencies, psychiatric interest has primarily applied loneliness as an indicator of an underlying disorder. These early references provided the modest basis for the psychological study of loneliness and, more importantly, it provided the direction of investigation. Namely the emphasis

on disorder, psychopathology, abnormality and permanence of the affect. The direction of this research is predictably mechanistic. To be lonely is not only a failure but is seen as an illness.

This established dictum gained prominence with Sullivan (1953) and later with Fromm-Reichmann (1959) who noted a 'non-constructive and disintegrative' loneliness which is ultimately manifested in a psychotic state (Sullivan, 1953, p29). Fromm-Reichmann's classic paper echoes Menninger's and Freud's schizoid/artistic classification, and presented a psychodynamic framework of the development of loneliness on the basis of a dynamic interaction between traits and psychic conflicts in childhood. This single article legitimised loneliness as a serious concern for clinicians and psychiatrists and brought to light previously published papers which looked at loneliness among special groups; children (Bakwin, 1942), adolescents (Collier & Lawrence, 1951), the aged (Sheldon, 1948), wives of servicemen (Duvall, 1945), and alcoholics (Bell, 1956). The initial introduction of loneliness as an indicator of some underlying disorder has continued throughout its academic history.

The publication of "The Lonely Crowd" by Riesman, Glazer & Denney (1961) exposed the impact of a changing society on personal relations and the resultant interpersonal disorder which is reflected by loneliness (but see Riesman, 1969). Together with the first of Moustakas's (1961) popular books on existential loneliness, which looked at the positive

aspects of loneliness, these publications made the topic of loneliness a salient social issue while at the same time developing further the paradox of the meaning of loneliness.

Around this time the first doctoral dissertations were completed which provided the first validated questionnaire measures of loneliness (Bradley, 1969; Eddy, 1961; Sisenwein, 1964). These systematic measures provided the path for the publication of Weiss's (1973) "Loneliness : The experience of emotional and social isolation" which established itself as an influential milestone by attempting to reconcile the two faces of loneliness. Weiss distinguished between 'emotional' and 'social' isolation. Emotional isolation is said to be produced by the absence of an attachment figure, while social isolation is produced by the absence of an accessible social network. The main element of emotional isolation was noted to be restless anxiety, while social isolation had an element of intentional exclusion directly related to Freud's and Menninger's schizoid/artistic classification.

On the one hand Weiss argues for the socially acquired aspect of loneliness (loss of job, moving house, etc) while on the other he allows for the psychopathological, inherent aspect of loneliness. However, this neat distinction between emotional and social isolation tends to overlap. Weiss's supporting data is geared towards establishing the existence of these causal issues rather than in differentiating them as separate (Russell, 1984). For example, Gubrium (1974) has reported that the loss of a

partner simultaneously affects both the social and emotional network.

Weiss's introduction of loneliness into a social-psychological domain did however result in a growth of interest in loneliness as a research consideration (eg Bennett, 1973; Colligan, 1973; Dubrey & Terrill, 1975; Fidler, 1976; Galassi & Galassi, 1973; Gubruim, 1974). The publication in 1982 of 'Loneliness : A Sourcebook of Current Theory Research and Therapy' edited by Peplau & Perlman, set the topic of loneliness as an important psychological research topic. This milestone is important because it defined a specific direction for future research which was explicitly defined within a socio-cognitive paradigm. This paradigm effectively channelled interest to the way that people think about the causes of their loneliness which is argued to determine both the reaction to loneliness and how it is experienced.

Peplau & Perlman (1982) discuss four main approaches to the study of loneliness under the headings of;

- i, Psychodynamic,
- ii, Humanist,
- iii, Social reinforcement, and
- iv, Socio-cognitive.

For a more detailed analysis of these approaches the reader should refer to Peplau & Perlman (1982). The main interest of these approaches for this study is the way in which they try to define loneliness.

- i, The psychodynamic approach attempts to explain variations in loneliness within the population, as an index of

personality (Strugnell, 1974). As a result Loneliness acquires the role of a stable personality characteristic (Fromm-Reichmann, 1959). This is reflected in loneliness being argued to be a form of egoism (Hammer & Jones, 1981), bad faith (Gotz, 1974) and fear of love (Tanner, 1973). Within this approach the onus for coping with loneliness resides within the patient 'recognising their narcissistic needs and defences' (Shein, 1974). This approach sees loneliness as the passive expression of the individual's personality.

ii, Although the humanists similarly view the causality of loneliness as a function of the personality of the individual, they differ from the psycho-dynamic school by advocating a more socially influenced concept of the personality. This change in the causal nexus of loneliness implicitly suggests that the lonely individual is reacting inappropriately to social situations. However, in contradiction to this theory, possible social-skill intervention programmes have failed to show general efficacy. In one frequently cited but unpublished example, Gallup (1981) succeeded in significantly reducing reported loneliness and increasing social activity by teaching lonely individuals to react appropriately in social situations. However, for this success, Gallup looked at a particular type of loneliness which was operationally defined as 'a relational deficit founded on social isolation from a network of supportive peers'. This does not seem to be representative of the plethora of deficits that loneliness can and does encompass (eg DeJong-Gierveld & Raadschelders, 1982).

Even with such a select sub-sample, Gallup applied a three stage screening process for those participants likely to benefit from this programme. This pragmatic approach was defined by using the Real-Ideal Social Self questionnaire, The Social Interaction Assessment Form, and the Social Skills Training questionnaire. Because of this extensive screening process, the utility of Social Skill Training programmes still needs to be shown to be generally applicable.

Other humanists have looked at underlying psychological processes which cause loneliness. This personalised causality is reflected in research on suicide (Klein, 1963), aggression (Cheek et al 1985), and hopelessness (Leiderman, 1969). Therefore, contrary to the initial impression, although the humanists are interested in the social context and in what the individual is doing, the onus for the causality of loneliness inevitably falls on the individual.

iii, One approach which has attempted to move away from this personalised causality is the social-reinforcement approach (Young, 1982). This approach contributes to a view of loneliness not as a static personality variable but one which is based on an interaction between previous learned experiences and situations (contingencies); minimising the role of the personality to one of the sum of contingencies. This approach would therefore predict that the more often that loneliness is experienced the less likely it is that the situation would elicit the same reaction (habituation). This indeed does not seem to be the case especially with chronically lonely people who consistently report loneliness

in an unchanging situation (eg Gerson & Perlman, 1979; Gubruim, 1974). This anomaly exposes the misguided assumption that loneliness is the sum of interpersonal deficits whilst ignoring the affect of loneliness in daily life as an independently important factor. This assumption, implicitly accepted within psychology as a whole, can be erroneous because it posits a direct link between these rational deficits (lack of social contact) and the emotional reality of the individual.

iv, What is the meaning of loneliness if it is not the total sum of interpersonal deficits? One way out of this quandary has been to view loneliness as a reflection of the way that an individual interprets these deficits. This argument which is adhered to by socio-cognitive psychologists has dispelled, for the time being, the theoretical confusion about the causality of loneliness because it argues that the causes of loneliness are not directly related either to;

- a) the personality of the individual, or
- b) what they do, or
- c) the type of situation

but rather that these can be subsumed by how the individual interprets these facets. The interpretation determines the reaction to loneliness. The following section elaborates on this view and presents a critique of this socio-cognitive approach to loneliness.

1.3. The socio-cognitive approach and its contribution to theory and methods.

The socio-cognitive approach emphasises the individual's perception and evaluation of their social relations. Loneliness is argued to be created from a dissatisfaction in one's social relations (Flanders, 1976; Sadler & Johnson, 1980). This dissatisfaction is argued to be based on a discrepancy between the desired and achieved level or pattern of social and intimate relations (Peplau & Perlman, 1979; Sermat, 1978). Recognition of this discrepancy is a conscious cognitive process which initiates the emotional reaction (Weiner, 1982). The cognitive evaluation determines the emotional reaction. Cognitions together with a diffuse physiological change create emotions (Schacter & Singer, 1962).

This approach has been predominantly investigated under one particular methodology, that of Attribution. This method attempts to summarise thought on the basis of a restricted number of underlying dimensions. The assumption is that types of thought can be grouped and hence summarised. These underlying dimensions have been empirically defined by a number of researchers (eg Rotter, 1966; Weiner, 1974). The unified approach is an attempt to combine these different dimensions as a predictive model (Weiner, 1974; Kelley & Michela, 1980).

Attribution methodology has been applied to loneliness in two main papers, one by Shaver & Rubenstein (1980) and the other by Peplau, Russell & Heim (1979). These two papers

outlined the influence of the perceived causes of loneliness on the type of reaction. Shaver & Rubenstein (1980) postulate that the causes of loneliness reside within the internal/external and stable/unstable dimensions. Internal causes would include; thinking that you are unattractive, not knowing how to make friends or a perceived lack of social skills in maintaining relationships; external causes would include being rejected by others, being in a situation where it is difficult to make friends or having bad luck (Weiner, 1974). Stable causes include relatively unchanging features of the situation or the person; whereas unstable causes include changeable factors such as effort (Weiner, Neirenberg & Goldstein, 1976).

The theoretical attraction of attribution is that this model is predictive. Shaver & Rubenstein (1980) predict that for loneliness;

- a) internal and stable attributions will result in persistent loneliness associated with depression, feeling of emptiness, and a lack of motivated coping;
- b) external and stable attributions will result in persistent loneliness and will be associated with anger and active attempts to decrease loneliness;
- c) internal and unstable attributions will result in transient loneliness associated with negative moods and feelings;
- d) external and unstable attribution will result in transient loneliness with active attempts to decrease its intensity.

This predictive model has received substantive, but indirect, refutation. Attribution models in general hinge on three criteria;

- a) that these attribution dimensions are used by people to explain and understand loneliness, and
- b) that these dimensions have an unambiguous and commonly shared meaning, and
- c) that these attributes can predict outcomes.

Although these criteria have been presented and discussed elsewhere (eg Blank, 1982), a summary of the main findings will be presented here to define the processes undergone in assessing attribution methodology.

Eskilson & Wiley (1979), and Falbo & Beck (1979) have both attempted to classify open-responses to questions of causality and failed to fit the responses to these attributional dimensions. Current practice is to pre-test a broad list of reported causes and then use the most often cited as the basis for summarising perceived causes (Locke-Connor & Walsh, 1980; and Meyer, 1980). The dimensions used in these studies appear to be relative to the group being studied, and thus claims for general applicability seem, on the basis of these anomalies, to be unfounded.

The second criterion of whether the terms used (eg internal/external) hold a consensus meaning is more problematic. The question is not one of whether persons spontaneously use the specific terms but rather a question of whether the internal/external criterion conveys the ideas people have about these terms (Falbo & Beck, 1979; Blank, 1982), each term being a shorthand for a set of conceptually related factors. For example the term 'ability' could mean being able to perform a given task, or having particular characteristics which increase the possibility of being selected for easy tasks (eg attractiveness). Both references are internal and stable and yet the term refers to different 'abilities'. Therefore ordinary terms, as used in everyday language, are not as unambiguous as they at first seem. It is not only the case that the same attribution may mean different

things in different situations or to different people, but that it is likely to mean different things to the same person at different times.

The third criterion is perhaps the most important because it tests whether the predictive model works. In one such study, Smith & Kluegel (1982) found that some predicted relations could not be replicated in their study. In particular, respondents reported feeling guilty for externally attributed outcomes regardless of the positive or negative nature of the outcome, felt disappointed in response to external attributions, and equally thankful in response to internal and external attributions.

A study which has more of a direct bearing on loneliness has provided descriptive longitudinal data on the types of coping behaviours which college freshmen used to alleviate loneliness (Rook & Peplau, 1982). The results of the analysis showed that few attributional factors were validated in determining the kinds of coping strategies lonely individuals would use. In a similar study, Revenson (1981) found that contrary to predictions, the extent to which a particular coping strategy for loneliness was used, was insignificantly related to the attributions for loneliness. Those participants who made internal attributions had higher coping scores on all the coping strategies studied; taking action, optimistic thinking, minimisation, wish-fulfilling fantasy, and affiliation for emotional support, than those who made external attributions.

These results provide a substantive body of evidence to refute the theory. Bragg (1969) has argued that the failure of attribution to explain differences between changes in loneliness and depression suggests that more complete theories are needed to explain loneliness. The attribution dimensions are not so easily applicable. Even if these dimensions could be used to summarise the way that people explain situations, what the dimensions mean to individuals might be different from the meaning imposed upon it by the researcher. The operational and semantic confusions surrounding this methodology are highlighted in their variable predictive value.

Given the problems encountered within attribution methodology, social psychology has been left without a general methodological and predictive framework. In the area of loneliness, this has meant a disjointed effort to relate loneliness to particular 'states'. The following three sections explore the outcome of these studies under the headings: 'behaviour', 'subjective evaluation', and 'self-disclosure'. Hopefully, by following these steps, a clearer indication will be gained of the issues which still need to be addressed.

1.3.1. Behavioural Correlates of loneliness.

The popularisation of loneliness has seen the development of stereotypes of the lonely person. For example loneliness is viewed as one of the major problems in old age. Yet a survey of 3815 adults suggests that the elderly are the

least lonely of all age groups, even though they are more likely to live alone (Revenson & Rubenstein, 1980). This finding appears to reflect the quality rather than the quantity of social relations that elderly people have. However there were marked differences between subgroups of elderly people. Those who have suffered the recent loss of an intimate attachment were especially lonely. Divorced elders were more lonely than divorced people of other age groups. Overall the results implore a closer look at the assumptions of the homogeneity of lonely people (Anderson, 1982).

One problem with loneliness is that it has been associated with the physical state of being alone, and thus the assumption made that groups of people who spend a lot of time on their own are lonely. In one pertinent study, Cutrona et al (1979) found no relationship between subjects' degree of loneliness and their current romantic involvement, number of close friends, or frequency of contact with the family. Instead loneliness appears to be a subjective experience without any significant objective indication (Sisenwein, 1964; Chelune et al 1980; but see Hoover, et al 1979; Perlman, et al 1978). These early findings have directed interest away from stereotypes of the lonely towards how the individual subjectively interprets a situation as lonesome.

1.3.2. Subjective evaluations.

From the literature on depression, one of the most consistent findings has been that the depressed have a negative view of themselves which is argued to maintain the state of depression (Beck et al 1974). The same has been

found to be true for lonely individuals. Not only do lonely people believe that they are surrounded by a hostile world (Klein, 1963), they also react towards the environment in a hostile manner (Moore, 1974). Loneliness not only involves a negative evaluation of ourselves but also of others (Anderson, et al 1983). This can take several forms. Moore (1974) using the Shostrom's Inventory self-actualisation questionnaire found that in the sample investigated (n=73) loneliness was related with greater hostility and submissiveness. The more lonely the participants, the more impatient, self-seeking and sarcastic they responded throughout the questionnaire.

Two other studies by Goswick & Jones (1981) reiterate Moore's findings and similarly report loneliness to be related to negative self-perceptions, dissatisfaction with oneself, and negative evaluations of one's own behaviour and functioning. More importantly, Goswick & Jones (1981) found that the lonelier the individual the greater the tendency to attend to one's own reactions than to those of others in a variety of social situations. This self-focus is also suggested to interfere with the perception of social feedback which might boost the self-concept of the lonely individual (Loucks, 1980; Moore & Sermat, 1974; Shostrom, 1966). It is also suggested to be responsible for the difficulty experienced by lonely people in communicating their thoughts and feelings (Moore & Sermat, 1974). These empirical studies have identified the role of social communication as an important causal factor in the experience of loneliness.

This direction in research on loneliness has been accommodated within the more established field of self-disclosure, and shares a common interest in the content and processes involved in revealing one's feelings and thoughts to another.

1.3.3. Self-Disclosure.

Revealing one's feelings and thoughts to another is one of the most salient features of relationship development (Altman & Taylor, 1973). Duck (1982) proposed hierarchical levels for this process of gaining knowledge about a partner. The more developed the relationship the higher the level and quality of knowledge we have about the partner. Self-disclosure is one of the processes which facilitates this 'metamorphosis' of a relationship. Since the meaning of loneliness is related to relationships, involvement, and companionship (Horowitz, et al 1982) research on self-disclosure can lead to a better understanding of the underlying content and process involved in loneliness. The subject matter of both areas of loneliness and self-disclosure is related to the processes and feelings involved in the development and breakdown of friendships.

However, self-disclosure per se does not always lead to interpersonal intimacy, especially when it is inappropriately targeted. For example telling a complete stranger about one's personal marital problems is more likely to result in withdrawal and rejection than if the self disclosure was to

one's marital partner (Derlega & Chaikin, 1976). The perceived appropriateness of divulging information about ourselves is largely determined by social norms and expectations, and violations of these norms have consistently been shown to result in negative evaluations by others (eg Derlega & Chaikin, 1976).

Chelune (1976) has suggested that the ability to adequately differentiate various social-situational cues and adapt one's disclosure accordingly, is important for effective interpersonal functioning. In this study Chelune found that lonely individuals tend to deviate from this social norm, either by not disclosing enough or disclosing too much. One criticism with this type of analysis lies in defining what the norm is, especially when it has been shown that there are a series of factors which have a normative pull on self-disclosure depending on the situation and the individual. Some factors are, for instance, time specific, like the perceived need to have a boy/girlfriend at college (Erikson, 1968) others are situation specific, like the appropriate disclosure when talking to parents (Solano, Baten & Parish, 1982).

Solano et al (1982) performed two studies to investigate the role of situational factors on self-disclosure and the relation between the perception of this self-disclosure with loneliness. In the first study, utilising a questionnaire methodology, Solano found that for males, loneliness was related with low self-disclosure regarding their personality characteristics. For females however, loneliness was associated with low disclosure on a

broad range of topics relating to attitudes, tastes, work/study and personality. Therefore it is only on certain topics that low self-disclosure is significant to loneliness. A low level of self-disclosure was not in itself an accurate predictor of loneliness. The difference between males and females was also related to the significance of the recipient of this information. Low self-disclosure was more likely to be related to feelings of loneliness for males if the discrepancy was within a cross-sex relationship. Female college students however related the discrepancy to both male and female friends, suggesting that loneliness for males is more female-friend orientated, whereas for females there does not seem to be such a gender distinction.

In the second study (Solano et. al., 1982), lonely and non-lonely students were asked to engage in a brief structured conversation. Each person in the dyad was initially asked to rate how well they knew the other person; then they were given a list of topics to discuss with their partner in any order. These topics had been scaled according to their level of intimacy in a separate study (Taylor & Altman, 1966). After the participants had completed their discussions on each of the 12 topics, each person re-evaluated how well they knew the other person. The results showed that according to the rating of the partners, the lonely subjects were significantly less well known than were the non-lonely subjects.

This finding is also related to Kelly's (1955) Sociality Corollary, which distinguishes between individual's abilities to incorporate the other's perspective (Duck, 1973, p146). By

looking at the order of the topics chosen, lonely participants were more likely to choose less intimate topics for opposite-sex partners than were non-lonely subjects. Similarly, the results also suggest that the opposite-sex partners of lonely subjects selected significantly less intimate topics than did partners of non-lonely participants. This implies that lonely people influence the behaviour of others during the development of a dyadic relation.

The above studies suggest that loneliness and the development of the dyadic relationship are not controlled by the individual alone but involve a process determined and influenced by the interaction between the people involved. This argument has gained ground in research on interpersonal development and has developed to incorporate a much wider social influence by changing interest from individual attributes to social conventions and expectations (Duck & Gilmour 1981).

Research on loneliness has benefited from this combined research on self-disclosure, primarily because it has allowed a wider interpretation of the dynamics involved in the experience and reporting of loneliness. Whereas the studies discussed earlier looked at the individual as separate from this interpersonal context, research on self-disclosure has highlighted the importance of social norms in a developing relationship.

From this critique of the literature on loneliness, an elaboration of the causal influences on loneliness has emerged, from the psycho-dynamic approach, where the cause of loneliness is seen to reside within the individual's personality makeup to contemporary research on self-disclosure which sees the cause of loneliness as residing within the dynamic development of relationships. This development mirrors the direction of other areas in psychology and is a move away from looking at loneliness as a psychopathological syndrome to one of loneliness as one indicator of a complex and ever changing socio-interpersonal phenomenon.

This theoretical position involves a methodology which focuses on the content and processes of how exogenous factors influence loneliness. Traditionally this has meant a break from cognitive psychology to affective psychology. Indeed, the distinction between cognition and affect is more one of methodology rather than theory. The theoretical argument between Zajonc and Mandler (in Clark & Fiske, 1982) is tautological since the argument is based upon the semantics of the concepts of cognition and affect, primarily whether cognition can be an unconscious process. Resolving this argument will clarify the use of these concepts but will not substantially increase our understanding of feeling or thought processes. Methodologically, however, accepting that pre-conscious processes effect conscious decision making, has direct bearing on our understanding of the psychology involved in feeling and thought. This line of investigation has been carried out in the field of emotion.

The next section will evaluate the empirical evidence and available theoretical formulations bearing upon emotions and loneliness.

1.4. The development of the Affective approach.

Theoretical interests in emotion have spanned a broad area of interest concerning such issues as the following:

Situational (Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1970); Cognitive (Arnold, 1960); Cognitive-effective (Singer, 1963); Psychoanalytic (Kellerman, 1976); Interactionist (Hochschild, 1979); Structural exchange and reinforcement (Kemper, 1978); Structural psychological (Plutchik, 1962); Behavioural (Ekman, 1973); Emotional motivational (Izard, 1972); Etiological (Scott, 1977); Sociobiological (Weinrich, 1980); Biological (Pribram, 1967); Social norms (Averill, 1982); Schema (Fiske, 1982); Interpersonal relations (Berschied, 1982); Value (Mandler, 1982); and Preferences (Zajonc, 1980).

This diversity is only matched by the methods employed in the investigation of emotion:

Cross-cultural (Izard, 1971); Across-Species (Chance, 1980); Cultural roles (Averill, 1980); Experimental (Isen et al, 1982); Hypnosis (Bower & Cohen, 1982); Facial recognition (Ekman et al, 1972); Hormones and cerebral activity (Pribram, 1967); Touch (ie sentics, Clynes, 1980); Subliminal perception (Moreland & Zajonc, 1979); Dreams (Kellerman, 1979); and Verbal labels (Weiner, 1982).

The immensity of this diverse interest in emotions is in itself problematic. One possible reason for this is the different meaning that emotions have for researchers. It seems obvious that the first stage of theorising on emotion is to elaborate a definition of the concept. Surprisingly only a few articles have dealt with such a fundamental stage in theory formation (Ketal, 1975). This section attempts to summarise the literature and to present a succinct meaning of emotion and its progressive development.

From the literature five distinct stages of emotion are distinguished; feeling, affect, emotion, mood and trait (eg Izard, 1977; Leventhal, 1984);

FEELING: This is the first stage in the development of an emotion and is an indication of change within the individual. The evidence for the existence of this stage comes from a study by Moreland & Zajonc (1979) who presented participants with geometric figures through a tachistoscope which presents a subliminal exposure (ie too fast for conscious perception). After this exposure to the ideograph the participants were asked to choose their preferred geometric figures from a pool which contained some of the previously presented cards. The results show that exposure significantly influences which geometric figures are preferred. The title of this paper succinctly summarises the results: 'Preferences need no Inference'. Such preference is often the very first reaction of the individual and is independent of, and precedes in time, the sorts of perceptual and cognitive operations commonly

assumed to be the basis for affective judgements (Zajonc, 1980). This stage in the development of emotion seems to be non-verbal and non-expressive.

AFFECT: This stage of affect involves a perceptual elaboration of feeling. It involves a non-discrete elaboration (positive vs negative) and could be accompanied by an expressive component (Russell, 1980; Ekman et al 1972). Studies which have argued for the polarisation of affect in positive and negative terms, have repeatedly validated the necessity of this stage in the development of emotion. In a series of multidimensional studies of reported emotions, Russell (1977,1978,1980) found that emotions are primarily judged and experienced on the basis of this negative and positive affect and argues that 'Affective Space is Bipolar'.

EMOTION: At the emotion stage the dynamic interaction between the initial feeling/affect and general somatic changes are labelled and expressed discretely (Averill, 1980; Ekman, 1973). This stage of emotion involves a recognition of the persistence of the affect and enables a specific, coherent, and succinct evaluation of the preceding stages. This is the expressive stage of emotion which generally involves labelling. This schema, which is the relational network of emotion labels is therefore utilised in order to enable the individual to select a label which could represent his or her feeling. This process is also likely to involve an evaluation of the wider social implications that the label would confer once used as self-descriptive (Averill, 1980).

This stage of development of an emotion is inseparable from the appraisal of alternative options and coping resources (Lazarus et al, 1980; Bandura, 1977). The labelling process is often an important part of the emotional experience and is in itself a coherent part of the affect process (this has been referred to as secondary appraisal by Lazarus et al 1980; and reflective monitoring by Harre & Secord, 1972). Izard (1977) argues that this stage is non-cyclical and transient. Plutchik (1977) aptly argues that an emotion refers to a complex theoretical term whose characteristics can only be inferred on the basis of a congruence of various classes of evidence.

MOOD: An emotion can vary in duration. Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman (1980) have made a distinction between emotion and mood on the basis of how long the affective evaluation is expressed. They argue that emotions are experienced as fleeting episodes and are distinguishable from the more stable and longer lasting moods. The authors also propose that moods are less intense and more diffuse than an emotional episode. The argument is that the primary concern for moods is to translate the fleeting emotional episodes into an general, stable evaluation.

TRAIT: At this stage in the development, the permanence of the mood label attains consistency and is applied as a personality characteristic. This stage has recently been the centre of interesting research, part of which proposes that the development of mood determine the personality of the

individual (Conte, 1975; Borgatta, 1961). In a sense, the personality is made up of a history of particular moods.

These stages of the development of emotion allows us to define the area of this proposed research. Since the ultimate aim is to understand how and why individuals report loneliness, then our focus of interest resides within the emotion and mood stages.

The following section discusses the merit of theories of emotion which do not view emotion as necessarily a post-cognitive phenomenon, ie to occur only after considerable cognitive operations have been accomplished. Three main theories will be discussed; Differential Emotion Theory, Schema-Triggered Affect, and the Constructivist View of emotions. The conclusion will highlight similarities between these theories and discuss the general merits of the affective approach to loneliness.

1.4.1. Differential Emotion Theory.

The definition of an emotion presented above argues that the individual becomes selective in choosing the verbal label from a repertoire of available labels. This stage in the theory presents two main questions. The first question relates to how important the association of other emotions is to loneliness, and second how this knowledge is stored and accessed by individuals.

Since individuals must be aware of the meaning of each of these labels in order to make a decision, the question is how is this knowledge organised and accessed? Two inclusive approaches exist; firstly that all the labels denoting emotion are represented as a meaningful networks, as in a schema (Fiske, 1980) and secondly, that the information is ordered on the basis of a network of hierarchy of emotions where some emotions are subsets of more basic emotions (Izard, 1977).

One popular method for simplifying emotions has been to propose a limited number of basic fundamental emotions (joy, fear, anxiety, etc) which in combination create the apparent diversity of emotions. With over 600 adjectives denoting emotion in the English language, this theory could simplify the methodology by directing investigation to these basic emotions (Davitz, 1969). Dahl & Stengel (1977) validated the feasibility of this Differential Emotion Theory when participants successfully distinguished 371 emotion labels on the basis of a combination of the following eight basic emotion categories; Love, Surprise, Anger, Fear, Contentment, Joy, Depression and Anxiety.

Through this hierarchical ordering, emotions can either be basic or complex states. The problem lies in the demarcation between basic and complex emotion states since as the field of interest increases so it seems do these building blocks of emotions; Spinoza proposed three; Descartes, six; Hobbes, seven; Tomkins (1923), eight; Izard (1977), ten; McDougall (1979) twelve; Murray (1964), sixteen.

An alternative argument is that hierarchical ordering is not a necessary stage for selecting appropriate labels, but

can be explained as a function of a network of meaning of emotion labels. This finds reference in theories of emotion proposing a Schema-triggered affect. The following section introduces this concept and evaluates its potential to loneliness research.

1.4.2. Schema-Triggered Affect.

According to this perspective, people draw on structured prior knowledge to evaluate the meaning of an emotion label (Fiske, 1982; Linville, 1982; Scheier & Carver, 1982). This structure is based upon the association (or disassociation) between the labels. Schema theory would argue that a label acquires meaning as a result of this relative network (Fiske, 1982). Therefore the meaning of loneliness is argued to be summised from other related concepts of emotion, and does not exist as an independent entity. This approach can explain why loneliness is consistently found to be related to a variety of emotions, for example, low self-esteem (Brennan & Auslander, 1979), depression (Russell, et al 1978), and anxiety (Ellison, 1978). Such associations could be due to an underlying relationship between these emotion labels, and that this relationship could be based on a pattern or schema. The following section examines the evidence of one such consistent association of loneliness with depression and attempts to define the process responsible for this.

The most consistent association with loneliness has been found with depression. Significant correlations between measures of these two constructs range from 0.4 to 0.6

(Russell, Peplau & Cutrona, 1980; Russell, Peplau & Ferguson, 1978). Psychologists working on loneliness have nevertheless invested great effort in attempting to separate loneliness from depression, rather than to investigate their commonality.

Theorists have argued that loneliness is separate from depression but these conjectures have lacked empirical validation (Leiderman, 1969; Ortega, 1969; Peplau & Perlman, 1979; Shaul, 1981; Weiss, 1973). The association between loneliness and depression could be due to four hypothetical possibilities;

1. Loneliness and depression are expressed from a common factor.
2. Prolonged loneliness may cause depression.
3. Depression might cause loneliness.
4. Loneliness and depression are indistinguishable.

Weeks, et al (1980) set out to investigate hypotheses 1, 2 and 3. They measured loneliness and depression using the UCLA loneliness questionnaire and the Beck's Depression Inventory. The researchers applied the two questionnaires to 333 first year university students, and applied the questionnaires again after five weeks. The results were analysed using a Structural Equation Model which measures the causal effect of one variable on another (LISREL III, Bielby & Hauser, 1977). The analysis suggested that loneliness did not cause depression, and nor did depression cause loneliness. Weeks et al (1980) pointed out that it may be that such causal relations exist but that the time lag needs to be longer than the five weeks. This study has shown that hypothesis 1 could be valid (that loneliness and depression are expressed from a common factor), but failed to present evidence in support of

hypothesis 2 and 3 (that one causes the other). This result has, consequently, created the concept of a 'common cause' to loneliness and depression and relate to hypotheses 1 and 5 above.

A Common Cause.

Diamant & Windholz (1981), in a series of studies, separately correlated loneliness and depression with hopelessness, aggression, alienation, neuroticism and introversion (measured by a variety of questionnaires; UCLA Loneliness Scale, Russell et al 1978; Beck Depression Inventory, Beck & Beamesderfer, 1974; Hopelessness Scale, Beck, et al 1974; Purpose in Life - alienation, Crumbaugh & Maholick, 1976; Abbreviated MMPI, Faschingbauer & Newmark, 1978; and the Maudsley Personality Inventory, Eysenck, 1959). However, none of these variables proved significant in distinguishing loneliness from depression. Both loneliness and depression were significantly and similarly correlated with these variables.

Since people do appear to make the distinction between loneliness and depression then it is necessary to see how this distinction is made and to attempt to illustrate it empirically.

Horowitz, French, Lapid & Weckler (1980) asked 80 undergraduate students to describe 'the best example they could of a person they knew to be lonely' and again for 'a person they knew to be depressed'. What the authors found was

that descriptions of the lonely were almost exclusively of an interpersonal deficit (eg isolates self from others), whereas for the depressed both interpersonal and non-interpersonal features were reported (eg pessimistic, lacks energy).

In the following study Horowitz, French & Anderson (1982) substantiated this finding and argued that although individuals can differentiate between loneliness and depression, loneliness seems to be a particular variation on the common theme of depression. The authors also reported that the descriptions used to describe the lonely and depressed were mainly affective (ie related to other emotion labels). Whether these stereotypes find reference in how the lonely and depressed view themselves was performed in a study by Bragg (1969). This study involved comparing students from a sample of 333 who scored high on UCLA loneliness questionnaire and the Beck depression questionnaire, against students who scored high on loneliness but not depression. Bragg reported that the lonely-depressed expressed disappointment and dissatisfaction in several domains of behaviour (eg lack of friends, work, politics) whereas the lonely (but not depressed) only reported dissatisfaction on social matters (eg friends, going out). In agreement with the theoretical proposition by Horowitz et al (1982), the experience of loneliness was found to be subsumed under depression. Depression being a much broader concept which encapsulates the meaning of loneliness.

In Factor analysis this association has been consistently reflected by loneliness occupying a similar

factor with depression (Lorr et al, 1967; Borgatta, 1961; Nowlis & Green 1965). As depression repeatedly shows a larger differential (influence) than loneliness on this general factor, studies of emotion have subsumed loneliness under depression.

Loneliness and depression therefore have emerged in this critique of the literature as sharing common elements. Referring to the original list of hypotheses the possible explanation of this association is that loneliness and depression are expressed from a unified general factor.

What is important then, is how this association is experienced. Attempts to differentiate the two concepts on attribution bases have resulted in mixed and inconclusive results (Revenson, 1981). An alternative view is to see these two concepts as related but separate, as the causal analysis in Weeks, et al (1980) study found. The progressive step now is to examine how this organisation is performed by individuals.

Current psychological theories on emotion have come up with two (possibly inclusive) theoretical frameworks. The Differential Emotions Theory argues that emotions are organised in a hierarchical framework where one emotion is composed of a mixture of more basic emotions. Schema Theory on the other hand argues that all emotion labels have an equal importance by contributing to the meaning which is acquired about one particular emotion on the basis of how related or unrelated they are to each other. The amalgamation of these two theoretical explanations is made possible by arguing that

these structures are important at different stages in the development of emotion.

The development from an emotion to mood, for example, was argued to be primarily involved with translating the private emotional episode into a more public domain. It could be possible therefore, that although at the emotion stage all emotion labels are evaluated on a Schema based framework, the reporting of one emotion above all others, as an overall summary, might involve organising these emotional episodes in an order which makes presentation more accessible. This analysis is however speculative at this stage, but not without some theoretical basis. The earlier presented critique of the socio-cognitive approach reported that loneliness is a socio-interpersonal phenomenon. Unfortunately theoretical development in loneliness has not progressed sufficiently to explain these empirical findings. In the general area of emotions, however, the Constructivist View of Emotion (Averill, 1982) bears direct relevance to this issue of social influence.

1.4.3. The Constructivist View of Loneliness.

Averill (1980) claims that emotions are transitory social roles. These socially constituted syndromes are a set of responses that are clustered (covary) in a systematic fashion. This approach is not dissimilar from the Differential Emotion Theory which views emotions as a composition of discrete emotional elements (Izard, 1977), but

which Averill sees as a social, rather than a perceptual necessity. Goldberg (1980) succinctly argued that;

'...in choosing, however unwittingly, to feel in a certain way, each of us brings about particular responses from others and experiences a commitment to define and maintain himself in this mood'.

Averill (1980) argues that these socially constituted syndromes are represented psychologically as perceptual schemas which facilitate the appraisal of the stimuli (Fiske, 1982; Scheier & Carver, 1981). Averill makes two important predictions where both the Schema and the Ordering frameworks are necessary;

- (1) that the Schema of emotions is a necessary psychological representation which facilitates an appraisal of an emotional episode from a repertoire of alternative labels,
- (2) While in the presentation of this evaluation the individual conforms to social criteria to subscribe to a particular social role (order).

What is important at this stage therefore is the social consensus held about emotion labels, whereby the individual reinterprets the evaluation (schema) and accommodates it within a social context. This development presents one crucial criticism of the most common methodology employed in studies on loneliness, that of questionnaire surveys.

Two types of questionnaire have been developed to measure loneliness. One type measures the intensity of loneliness (global), while the other measure the type of loneliness (multidimensional). Global measures are represented by six questionnaires now superseded by the UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell, et al, 1980) developed from Sisenwein (1964), Bradley (1969), Ellison & Paloutzian (1979), Young (1979), and Rubenstein & Shaver (1980).

Multidimensional measures are represented by three questionnaires developed by Belcher (1973), de Jong-Gierveld (1978), and Schmidt & Sermat (1982).

One main criticism against questionnaires in general is that they need to look at loneliness as a stable entity in order for the questionnaire to attain any reliability. This suggests that through a questionnaire methodology, loneliness is being studied as a trait, a non-transient, consistent and general evaluation. Effectively, studies on loneliness utilising this methodology bypass the preceding stages of emotion and mood (Russell, 1982, p98).

What has emerged from this interpretation is that loneliness is a social phenomenon which appears not to be controlled exclusively by the personality or attributions made by the individual. The conclusion from the self-disclosure literature, and from the theoretical area of affect, suggest that loneliness is influenced by such factors as self-disclosure norms, consensus of the meaning of loneliness, and the different social involvement between transient and persistent reports of loneliness.

These social factors necessitated distinguishing what is meant by emotion and developed the five qualitative stages of emotion which were discussed above. These stages account for this progressive social influence on the emotion process. This overall interpretation postulates a middle ground between a purely 'individualistic' and a purely 'social' causality of loneliness. The next section explores an integration of these

different theoretical positions and attempts to formulate a methodology to enable an investigation into how and why people report feeling lonely.

1.5. Conclusion : An Integration.

Loneliness seems to be more accurately defined as a socio-psychological phenomenon. The truth, as always, seems to reside within two theoretical extremes; between a purely cognitive approach (Weiner, 1980) and a purely social approach (Averill, 1982).

Our ultimate aim is to understand how and why people report loneliness. Three main issues have developed from this objective. The first is related to what people mean by the label of loneliness. This must be the primary stage in any research, that is, to define the meaning of the subject matter.

There is some suggestion in the literature that people use other types of emotions to describe loneliness (see page 28). If this is the case, then how each of these emotions are related to loneliness needs to be systematically and empirically tested.

This objective can be seen to be related to schema theory and the way in which emotion labels are organised as a psychological network. However Thorndyke & Yekovich (1980) have argued that the weakness of the schema concept lies in the lack of theoretical development in how schema are processed. Such arguments reflect broader criticisms of

schema-related theories in personality (Cantor & Mischel, 1978) and person-environment interaction (Hampson, John & Goldberg, 1986). Such criticisms are valid. If people organise the meaning of loneliness on the basis of some relational psychological network, how does this network influence the development from a transient emotion to a longer lasting mood?

The second issue is the most problematic to define empirically and is related to the causes that people give for their loneliness. Causal explanations are complex to define because they are subject to change and re-evaluation. As a result, the interesting question to ask is why a particular cause resulted in loneliness. It is only then that it would be possible to unearth the implicit view of relationships held by individuals, and which will then clearly contribute to a definition of the context of their loneliness. Loneliness is, after all, an expression of a whole history of events.

The objectives of this study present a divergence from traditional, attribution-directed investigation, and are concerned with understanding the consensus meaning of loneliness, the salient events and issues which are related to loneliness and to the broad issue of the causality of loneliness. The following three chapters mirror these empirical questions and will investigate how loneliness is judged, experienced and reported on the basis of its personal and social involvement.

2. CHAPTER TWO : WHAT THE LABEL OF LONELINESS MEANS

2.1. INTRODUCTION

2.2. STUDY ONE

2.2.1. METHOD

2.2.1.1. PARTICIPANTS

2.2.1.2. PROCEDURE

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2.2.4. INTERPRETATION

2.3. STUDY TWO

2.3.1. METHOD

2.3.1.1. PARTICIPANTS

2.3.1.2. PROCEDURE

2.3.2. RESULTS

2.3.3. INTERPRETATION

2.4. GENERAL CONCLUSION

Chapter Two: What the Label of Loneliness Means.

* If language is not correct, then what is said is not what is meant ; if what is said is not what is meant, then what ought to be done remains undone. *

Confucius (551-479 B.C.)

2.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter defined the different approaches that research into loneliness has taken. The overwhelming concern with the perceived causes of loneliness has received very little empirical evidence. Theories of loneliness have implicitly accepted that loneliness is caused by how an individual thinks about his or her current situation. This approach does however undermine the inherent meaning attached to the label of loneliness. The misguided assumption is that the label itself is value-free, and that it is these 'thought processes' that determine the outcome. But labels are rarely value-free. If we are informed we are about to meet a lonely person, we are likely to predefine how we behave with them (Solano et al, 1982). The label itself is semantically rich.

This study is setup to investigate the semantics of the loneliness label. By investigating the definition of the label before looking at individual experiences of loneliness the consensus definition can be made explicit. Since loneliness is reported through language this linguistic approach is a necessary stage in defining what the label is perceived to mean. Without this empirical stage, which aims to define a consensual reference point of meaning, individual variations of loneliness cannot be placed in context.

Two studies are reported in this chapter. Initially the focus of interest was the consensus meaning of the label of loneliness taken without emphasise upon individual variation of experience. Asking individuals to describe what their loneliness means (or has meant in the past) has been shown to result in answers which encompassed a confused plethora of causes, reactions and advice (Roberts, 1972). In order to direct attention at the general issues of loneliness, this study asked people what they thought to be important in evaluating others as lonely or not lonely. The first study looks at the specific questions of whether the label of loneliness is primarily concerned with;

1. quantitative measures of social activities or subjective evaluations (ie feeling and interpretation),
2. internal characteristics of the individual,
3. behavioural or cognitive indices.

The second study in this chapter draws upon this initial investigation, and looks more closely at associated feelings of loneliness as the key issue concerned with the label of loneliness. This was done by developing a schema of emotion labels which presented how close some emotions are to each other, and in particularly to loneliness.

2.2. Study One: Key Issues in Evaluating Loneliness in Others

There are a variety of ways of determining how people judge others to be lonely or not. The most obvious way is to ask directly how people evaluate others. This study did just this by asking thirty nine people to write down twenty questions which they would ask another person in order to find out whether the person was lonely or was not.

This hypothesis-testing methodology is applied when studying how people acquire information about others (Snyder & Swann, 1978). Under this methodology Snyder & Swann (1978) provided participants with a hypothesis about the personality (or characteristic) of another person which they were asked to test by choosing from a group of questions preselected by the experimenters (Snyder & Swann, 1978; Snyder & Campell, 1980; Snyder & White, 1981).

Results from such methodologies suggest that when a hypothetical person has been defined as 'lonely' the questions chosen will have a restricted range of answers which confirm the hypothesis irrelevant of the individual's actual personality (Berscheid, et al, 1976; Kiesler, 1971; Ross, et al 1977).

If found to be valid, this bias in peoples' information acquisition would indicate that the initial impression formed of the lonely individual determines, to a greater or lesser degree, the type of discourse that others would engage in with them. Considering how severely curtailed social intercourse would be as a result of this bias, it is surprising that such findings have received little critical appraisal from social

psychologists. Because the main objective of this study was to elicit areas pertinent to loneliness, no preset questions were provided and the participants were asked to generate their own questions. This variation in the methodology makes the hypothesis-testing more valid for two main reasons. Firstly, because the participants would not be restricted by choosing from a limited set of questions, and secondly, because the type of issues raised in the questions could be checked against empirically established associates of loneliness. Such a variation in the original methodology would also allow us to test whether the bias for confirming a hypothesis can be found when the participants generate their own questions (Semin & Strack, 1980; Burchell, 1983; Trope & Bassok, 1982).

Being able to investigate how real hypotheses are developed and tested in real situations would be the ideal methodology. However given the impracticality of this we can investigate the importance of the context by varying the objective of the task. Three such variations were included in the design of this study. The question is whether there would be a difference in the quality of questions generated if the participants were informed that ;

1. they would use the same questions in an actual interview with the person,
2. the questions would be used to develop a questionnaire, and that they would not meet the person, or that
3. the questions would provide some data for this laboratory session.

This design would indicate whether varying the objective of the task would effect the type of questions generated.

What do people think is important when they come to evaluate someone as lonely or not? Horowitz et al (1982) compared the stereotypes of the lonely and the depressed and found that the lonely were exclusively characterised by interpersonal deficits whereas the depressed were ascribed with both interpersonal and non-interpersonal deficits (p37).

However does everyone who has a need for more, or different, friendships therefore feel lonely?. Perhaps it is not these deficits which people consider to be important, but how able the individual is in coping with these deficits. One of the main questions to address therefore is whether people report that how the individual feel and interpret events as more important when evaluating loneliness than how the individual behaves. These beliefs about loneliness will set the theme for investigating causal conceptions of loneliness in others.

Traditionally, as discussed in the introductory chapter, it has been argued that it is the underlying thoughts behind these beliefs which can determine how people are judged. Although such attributions have been found by Rook & Peplau (1982) and Revenson (1981) to be unreliable in determining the reaction to loneliness, such an analysis might, nevertheless, elucidate whether some dimensions are more important than others in evaluating loneliness. The literature does indeed provide us with some predictions.

Although Kelley & Michela (1980) defined four main dimensions used for attributions, Michela, et al (1982) found

only two such dimensions to be valid for loneliness, with the internal/external dimension accounting for the largest variance in loneliness (49%). This suggests that people see the lonely person as being 'responsible for' their loneliness, a finding found consistently across the literature (Gordon, 1976; Rubenstein, et al 1979). However this raises the issue of what is meant by being 'responsible for'.

Explanations occupy two extremes. One side argues that people see loneliness as a personality characteristic, and therefore part of the individual's psychological makeup. 'Personality' in this context would determine both how events are interpreted and reacted to which is very much in line with the traditional psycho-dynamic school of thought (Shein, 1974; see chapter one p 6). Alternatively, internality can be argued to be the result of the limited information that one has about the individual being judged (Storms, 1973).

The argument could be applied in this context by claiming that because people do not always attribute their own loneliness to internal factors, consistently attributing others' loneliness to internal factors is due to the limited information we have about others.

Unfortunately no empirical evidence exists to backup either of these arguments. However, if internality is due to an asymmetry of information, then we would expect internal attributes to be assigned to others whether they are reported to be lonely or non-lonely. Such unique information would not however settle the question of whether loneliness or non-loneliness is a personality variable, but it would suggest

that when making attributions about someone that we do not know it is more than likely that we will attribute their condition to something internal to them, whether they are lonely or not (Jones & Nisbett, 1971). Such findings raise serious criticisms of studies which do not compare the lonely group with a non- or less- lonely group.

Even if such issues are settled there still exist the conceptual ambiguity of whether Internality relates to how an individual behaves or how they interpret events. The question of internality does therefore need to take these alternate explanations into account. For example, if beliefs about the label of loneliness are concentrated on behavioural, rather than psychological aspects of the individual than we can infer that people label someone as lonely on the basis of how they behave. Such findings will have important implications for behaviour modification practitioners (Jones, 1981).

These empirical questions contribute to the understanding of the implicit assumptions held about the label of loneliness. In a sense, the overall objective of this study is to make the implicit explicit. The focus is on whether the label relates to qualitative rather than quantitative aspects of an individual, whether internality is a function of the limited knowledge that we have about the individual, and whether internality is related to either how the individual behaves or interprets events. Overriding these issues is the question of whether varying the objective of the task effects the type of responses that people generate. Understanding how

people label others as lonely gives us a very secure footing from which to study how individuals utilise the label for others and perhaps themselves.

2.2.1. Method

2.2.1.1. Participants.

Thirty nine first-year social-science undergraduates participated in this study as part of their psychology laboratory assignments. The group was of mixed sex and age (range 19-45).

2.2.1.2. Procedure.

This study was carried out over three separate sessions in groups of twelve, fourteen and thirteen participants. These three sessions related to the three ostensible objectives of the study. In the first group the task was to generate twenty questions to be used in an interview with a lonely or non-lonely person the following week; the second group were informed that the task was to generate twenty questions which the researcher would use for the development of a questionnaire to measure loneliness; and the third group were informed that the twenty questions that they were asked to generate would form the basis for the statistical analysis for the present laboratory study. Apart from these group variations all participants then followed the same procedure.

The verbatim instructions differed according to whether the person, for whom the questions were to be generated, was described as lonely or non-lonely. The instructions read as follows;

" You are asked to generate twenty questions which you would like to ask a lonely (/not lonely) person to test whether they are lonely (/not lonely). "

At the end of these instructions the appropriate group received a brief description of a lonely person (Moore, 1974);

" Lonely people typically describe themselves as feeling isolated, needing someone to talk to, anxious, feeling restricted in social activities, and experiencing a void in their social life. "

While the rest of the group were provided with a brief description of a non-lonely person ;

" Non-lonely people typically describe themselves as feeling part of a group, always having someone to talk to, relaxed, contented with their social activities, and experiencing fulfilment in their social life. "

Each participant completed the task individually, after which the objectives of the task were fully explained to each of the three groups. Seven hundred and forty questions were generated by all the participants (average of 19 questions per person).

2.2.3. Results

The 740 questions were typed and randomised and presented blind to two independent, psychology research students for judging whether the questions were;

1. biased
2. referring to internal attributes
3. behavioural in content

The complete instructions are presented in Appendix One.

The interjudge reliability was computed by deriving the total number of questions which were coded the same by both judges and dividing this by the overall total number of questions. Questions which the judges were unable to code were defined as errors (non-agreements). For the three criteria, the interjudge reliability was 98% for the bias criterion, 70% for the internal criterion, and 74% for the behavioural criterion. All these interjudge reliability criteria were well above the 5% significance level.

Phrases which were concerned with how the individual feels, ie phrases which included the words 'feel' or included specific emotions as shown in Appendix 2 constituted 46% and 37% of phrases for the non-lonely and lonely respectively. Peoples' concern with how the individual feels forms a major feature of these phrases. Table 1 below represent a breakdown of the other criteria by group.

Two types of statistical analysis were performed. One was concerned with the difference between the three groups, while the second analysis was concerned with differences between the questions generated for the lonely and non-lonely.

Table 1. The percentage of questions within each of the three criteria by group.

| | Biased | Non-Biased |
|----------------|--------|------------|
| Group 1 | 3.6 | 95.6 |
| Group 2 | 2.9 | 97.7 |
| Group 3 | 2.0 | 96.8 |
| Absolute total | 5 | 707 |

| | Internal | External |
|----------------|----------|----------|
| Group 1 | 46.57 | 24.78 |
| Group 2 | 36.15 | 27.72 |
| Group 3 | 35.64 | 34.16 |
| Absolute total | 288 | 207 |

| | Behavioural | Psychological |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Group 1 | 25.93 | 43.36 |
| Group 2 | 34.15 | 28.5 |
| Group 3 | 54.06 | 28 |
| Absolute total | 207 | 242 |

Group 1: those that were informed that they would meet the person for an interview,
Group 2: were informed that the questions generated would be used for a questionnaire design, and

Group 3: were informed that the questions will only be used for the analysis in the laboratory session.

Absolute total: number of questions within each category, responses which could not be categorised or were judged to be a mixture of both categories are not reported here

Table two assesses the difference between the three different groups. From this analysis two significant results emerged. Questions which looked at psychological issues were generated more frequently when the participants were told that they would be meeting the person for an interview, irrelevant of whether that person was described as lonely or non-lonely. Inversely, questions looking at behavioural issues were more frequent when the participants were informed that the questions would only be used for the laboratory session.

Questions which were judged as psychological had to be related to 'traits' and 'feelings' and the way than an individual 'interprets' events and not concerned with behavioural issues (see Coding in Appendix 1).

Table 2. Chi-square analysis of the three criteria for the lonely and the non-lonely questions by Groups. ** denotes significance to the 0.05% level

a). Biased vs Non-biased by Groups.

| | |
|------------|----------------------|
| Lonely | chi=0.58 df=2 p> 0.7 |
| Non-lonely | chi=3.92 df=2 p> 0.7 |

b). Internal vs External by Groups.

| | |
|------------|----------------------|
| Lonely | chi=5.86 df=2 p>0.05 |
| Non-lonely | chi=2.69 df=2 p>0.2 |

c). Behavioural vs Psychological by Groups.

| | |
|------------|-------------------------|
| Lonely | chi=6.26 df=2 p<0.05 ** |
| Non-lonely | chi=7.47 df=2 p<0.05 ** |

Table three assesses the difference between the questions generated for the lonely and the non-lonely. The only significant difference which emerged was related to the number of biased questions, with the questions generated for the lonely having a larger proportion of bias than for the non-lonely. Biased questions were defined as questions which restricted the type of answer, where the question could not differentiate between a lonely and non-lonely person, and where the answer would be predictable (see the Coding Instructions in Appendix One).

Table 3. Chi-square analysis of the three criteria by Lonely vs Non-lonely.

** denotes significance to the 0.05% level

Biased vs Non-biased

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Lonely vs Non-lonely | chi=5.02 df=1 p< 0.05 ** |
|----------------------|--------------------------|

Internal vs External

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Lonely vs Non-lonely | chi=0.13 df=1 p> 0.7 |
|----------------------|----------------------|

Behavioural vs Psychological.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Lonely vs Non-lonely | chi=0.11 df=1 p> 0.7 |
|----------------------|----------------------|

Although the question of validity of these beliefs was assumed, a check was performed to see how close they were

with the descriptors of the lonely. By comparing each of these beliefs with similar descriptors reported by researchers for the lonely, eighty percent were found to be cross referenced (see Appendix 3). The strong impression is therefore that these descriptors are accurate cues for assessing loneliness.

2.2.4. Interpretation

It was argued in the introduction that by allowing participants to generate their own questions, the validity of these descriptors could be tested against empirically established associates of loneliness. The finding that eighty percent of these descriptors are referenced builds a very strong argument for their validity and makes the rest of the analysis pertinent to loneliness in general.

The 3.8% bias questions overall, conclusively contradict Snyder & Swann's (1978) findings of a 50% bias in the questions. A recent study by Darley, Fleming, Hilton & Swann (1988) have moved away from Swann's initial thesis when they concluded that;

" What a person may learn about another depends very heavily on that person's purpose in the interaction " (p 32)

When there was bias in questions, these were significantly directed at lonely people. Wyer & Carlston (1979, p198) refer to an unpublished study by Atkin, Gleason & Johnston (1976) when they argue that 'unpleasant states motivate persons to seek causal explanations more than pleasant states'. The results here suggest that when someone is introduced as being

lonely, they are more likely to receive questions that confirm that they are lonely than if they are introduced as being non-lonely. Therefore unpleasant states motivate to seek causal answers.

Over a third of the questions for both the lonely and the non-lonely were concerned with how the individual feels. This concern with 'affective' indices is further enhanced by the likelihood of meeting the person. The significant finding that Group one generated more 'psychological' questions suggests that when it really matters, under an expected personal context, how people interpret and experience events significantly takes precedence over their behaviour. It was only when the Group had been informed that their questions would only be used in the laboratory session that there was a significant 'behavioural' interest.

No significant difference was found between questions looking at internal and external issues. This is in contradiction with results that report loneliness to be perceived by others as an internal attribute (Gordon, 1976; Rubenstein et al 1979). The results further suggest that questions generated for the lonely and non-lonely cannot be differentiated on the internal/external dimension.

The two main significant results which this chapter will concentrate upon are that;

1. 37% of all the questions generated for the lonely person referred directly to how the individual feels, and
2. that the likelihood of meeting the lonely person significantly increased questions which looked at how the

individual interpreted and experienced events.

The main problem is how to represent this as a dynamic definition of loneliness. If people are primarily focused on how the individual feels or interprets loneliness, then what seems to be required is a more precise way of defining the feeling of loneliness against other emotions.

This study began by arguing that the consensus meaning of loneliness needs to be defined before looking at individual experiences. The belief was that the consensual meaning exists as an exogenous and static reference when instead what was found was that beliefs about the lonely are effected by the situation. For example, the expectation of contact with the lonely or the non-lonely individual changes the type of beliefs judged to be important; the more intimate the expected contact the more related are the beliefs to how the individual feels and interprets events. Consensual definitions need to take this into account.

Overall, one issue seems to transcend any other; that how an individual feels is seen by others as the most important indicator of loneliness, above causal or behavioural issues. Asking about related feelings suggests that emotions are somehow related in a systematic fashion and that this pattern has some relation to loneliness.

The indication is that an emotion can be understood or evaluated by its related emotions. This form of 'affective tautology', understanding an emotion by other related emotions, exposes the importance attached to how people feel. The following study examines this structure of the

relationship between emotion labels by defining how loneliness is evaluated in relation to other emotions. Defining a schema of emotion labels is one step towards systematically defining the consensus meaning of loneliness.

2.3. Study Two : Pattern of Emotions in Relation to Loneliness

The objective of this study was to define a way of representing how similar or dissimilar the label of loneliness is to other emotions. Traditionally, measuring and representing patterns of emotion has been studied in a particular way. The basic question which psychologists have asked about emotions has concerned the number and nature of underlying dimensions, as a way of simplifying the apparent complexity of emotions.

Factor analysis has proved to be the dominant statistical tool for grouping units of emotion together in the hope of finding a general and overriding concept (ie Factor). This has lead to a focus of the majority of empirical work on the relatively consistent and extreme emotions (eg anger and happy). Such research has emphasised measurement-oriented questions concerning consistency, reliability and validity, rather than directed at questions of organisation, process and change. This introduction explores the type of analysis used to represent loneliness and emotions, in general.

Attempts to find Factors in emotions have used different methodologies and, as a consequence, reported different results. Investigators working with facial expression have found between two to three dimensions which 'categorise' emotions (Abelson & Sernat, 1962; Engen, Levy & Schlosberg, 1957; Gladstones, 1962; Osgood, et al, 1957; Schlosberg, 1954). The two consistent dimensions have been interpreted as Pleasant/ Unpleasant, and Level of Activation. Studies using

self-reports have however found it much more difficult to restrict their categories to these two dimensions and have used from three to ten dimensions (Borgatta, 1961; Clyde, 1963; Howard & Hill, 1967; Howard, Orlinsky & Hill, 1970; Izard, Chappell & Weaver, 1970; Lorr, Daston & Smith, 1967; McNair & Lorr, 1964; Nowlis & Green, 1965; Russell & Mehrabian, 1977).

Lorr et al's 1957 classification is perhaps definitive in that it finds many similarities with later studies (Nowlis et al, 1967; Borgatta, 1961). Their classification was based on eight factors relating to;

DEPRESSION
CHEERFUL
INERT-FATIGUED
THOUGHTFUL
ANGRY
TENSE-ANXIOUS
COMPOSED
ENERGETIC

One problem with Factors is their definition. The prerequisite assumption is that Factors are independent. However, in all Factor analyses, delineating factors from each other is not wholly statistically determined but is primarily theory driven. Taking the above example, the TENSE-ANXIOUS Factor correlates 0.49 with DEPRESSION, 0.5 with THOUGHTFUL, and -0.65 with COMPOSED. This exposes a theoretical weakness in that these individual monopolar (independent) Factors are not apparently so independent (ie not orthogonal; Russell & Mehrabian, 1977). Attempts at classification seem to go against the real 'fuzzy' nature of emotions (Russell, 1980). These interrelated and ephemeral characteristics are what makes emotions the main concern for poets, writers and

musicians. Psychological investigation should retain an awareness of these characteristics.

The linguistic approach being followed in this chapter suggests that emotions are not independent of each other and that such diffuse relationships between emotion labels is a characteristic of natural language categories in general (Hersh & Caramazza, 1976; Labov, 1973; Lakoff, 1973). Thus, representing emotions as separate groups diminishes these interrelations. A statistical technique which does not fall foul of this 'grouping' and one which reflects the theoretical necessity is to be found within Multidimensional Scaling Models (abbreviated to MDS. Shepard, 1962; Kruskal, 1964). The title 'Multidimensional' might be misleading because it does not scale dimensions but represents elements of the data in relation to each other (Guttman, 1977). The analysis represents elements (or emotion labels) graphically, the closer the elements are to each other the closer they are in meaning.

The 'semantic space' model proposed by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957, p25-124) is especially well suited for this exploration. The gist of the model suggests that attempts to map the relation of meaning of emotion labels will reveal the nature of the selection mechanism used during evaluation (ie commonly termed as schema-activation, Fiske, 1982). In particular it is assumed that the way that an individual internally organises emotion labels determines an item's meaning (Cliff, Bradley & Girard, 1970).

The objective of this study is twofold;

- a. to define a consensus pattern of how emotion labels are perceived to be similar or dissimilar from each other, and
- b. to extract salient associations from this pattern.

Earlier MDS of emotion adjectives have not included loneliness in their analysis. This aside, there are methodological flaws with some of these earlier studies. The main criticism involves the number of elements (ie emotion labels) that researchers have used in their initial pool. MDS performs best when the number of elements is large and distinct (ie low dimensionality; Coxon & Jones, 1979; Spence, 1983). In one typical example, Russell (1980) required two hour sessions for each of his participants to rate 518 emotion adjectives. It is optimistic, to say the least, to expect participants to be able to maintain the same criterion for each comparison across this duration. On the other extreme, Bush (1973) used 20 adjectives denoting emotion which were grouped under three dimensions (see criterion for high dimensionality above).

The answer is therefore a balance between using too many or too few elements.

The second point of criticism relates to the instructions of the task. Russell (1980) and Russell & Mehrabian (1977) predetermined part of the analysis by asking participants to 'place the (adjectives of emotion) around the edge of a circle'. Other methodologies involve rating the similarity between each possible combination of adjectives (eg Bush, 1973) or to rate the adjectives on a preset criterion of say, happiness (eg Russell, 1979).

In response to these methodological flaws, this study employs a simplified methodology by uniquely applying a Q-sort technique. This technique involves asking participants to group a set of adjectives into groups on the basis of their similarity. The only constraint being the pool of adjectives presented.

Davitz (1969) employed 40 independent judges to choose a representative number of emotion labels from a sample of four hundred adjectives. This resulted in 50 independent adjectives denoting emotion. Blank (1982) performed a factor analytic study utilising nine attributional dimensions (from Weiner, Russell & Lerman, 1978) and distinguished 47 of these adjectives as distinct and representative of emotions in general. This satisfies the criterion of high dimensionality (Cohen & Jones, 1974; Spence, 1983). Since these labels have proved to be distinct and representative for the whole spectrum of emotion labels, and are few enough to make them easily manageable, this study utilises these 47 adjectives as the basis for the MDS task.

MDS has two main techniques which provide a schema and a hierarchical representation of the data. By combining these two techniques together it would be possible to plot the relationship between loneliness and other emotion labels and test for the significance of these relationships when hierarchically ordered. Because all emotions are related-to but distinct-from each other the predicted outcome is analogous with Russell's (1980) round pattern, known as the circumplex model of affect. This will be primarily due to the

negative/positive dichotomy which has been reported throughout in studies on emotion. Of particular interest is the cluster of emotion labels which are close to loneliness. From factor analytic studies it is known that depression and loneliness are closely related and it is thus expected to emerge in the MDS study also. What will be unique to this study is that this relationship will be graphically placed in the context of all the forty seven emotion labels, and that any other strong relationship will be placed in its relative order in the hierarchy. The aim of this study is therefore to graphically represent the consensus relationship of the label of loneliness with other emotion labels.

2.3.1. Method

2.3.1.1. Participants

Forty participants performed this sorting task. Seventeen were male, 23 were female. Their ages ranged from 18 to 45. All participants were known to the researcher in a social capacity and were of representative social and occupational status.

2.3.1.2. Procedure

The list of 47 emotion adjectives (Blank, 1982) were all printed on white stiff cards measuring 10 cm X 6cm. The list is presented below;

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Happy | 25. Embarrassed, ashamed, stupid |
| 2. Joyous, great, ecstatic, elated | 26. Concerned |
| 3. Pleased | 27. Disgusted |
| 4. Good | 28. Frustrated |
| 5. Satisfied | 29. Sad, unhappy, low, bad |
| 6. Flattered | 30. Angry |
| 7. Successful, accomplishment | 31. Depressed, dejected, despondent, despairing |
| 8. Relieved | 32. Upset, shook-up |
| 9. Proud, positive-selfimage | 33. Guilty |
| 10. Fun, feeling of enjoyment | 34. Hurt |
| 11. Contented | 35. Resentful |
| 12. Sense of well-being | 36. Rejected |
| 13. Confident, encouraged | 37. Scared, panicked, fearful |
| 14. Worthwhile, accepted, useful | 38. Disappointed |
| 15. Cocky, smug, conceited, boastful | 39. Jealous |
| 16. Humble | 40. Defeated, feeling of failure |
| 17. Competent, capable | 41. Lack/loss of self-confidence/worth |
| 18. Grateful | 42. Helpless, resigned |
| 19. Caring, loving | 43. Discouraged, deflated, disheartened |
| 20. Surprised | 44. Disturbed, uneasy, apprehensive |
| 21. Tired, exhausted | 45. Lonely |
| 22. Nervous | 46. "No-Big-Deal" |
| 23. Excited | 47. Ambivalent, uncertain |
| 24. Confused, bewildered, puzzled | |

Some of groups included more than one adjective. This reflects the finding by Blank (1982) that some elements were too highly related with each other to be defined as separate. In this study, instead of providing one concept in the hope of summarising the meaning for the whole group, the group of adjectives were presented together.

Each participant worked alone with the 47 separate cards. The task involved placing the cards into groups of similar meaning with as many groups as were required. The verbatim instructions were as follows;

" There are 47 cards in this pile. On each of the cards there is one to four printed words. Each of these describe an emotion (eg Anger, Frustration etc). What you are asked to do is to turn over the top card and to place it in a group. You can have as many groups as you like. If a subsequent card has a similar meaning to ones already in a group, then include it with that group. Keep doing this until all the 47 cards have been placed into groups. "

The task took approximately 30 minutes to complete, after which the researcher explained that the objective of the task

was to define the relationship that labels of emotion have with each other.

2.3.2. Results

When each card was grouped for each of the forty participants a specially-written fortran program sorted out a similarity half-matrix which computed the general frequency with which each emotion label was categorised with other labels. This similarity half-matrix analysed using the MINISSA and the HICLUS Multidimensional Scaling programs (E.E.Roskam, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands).

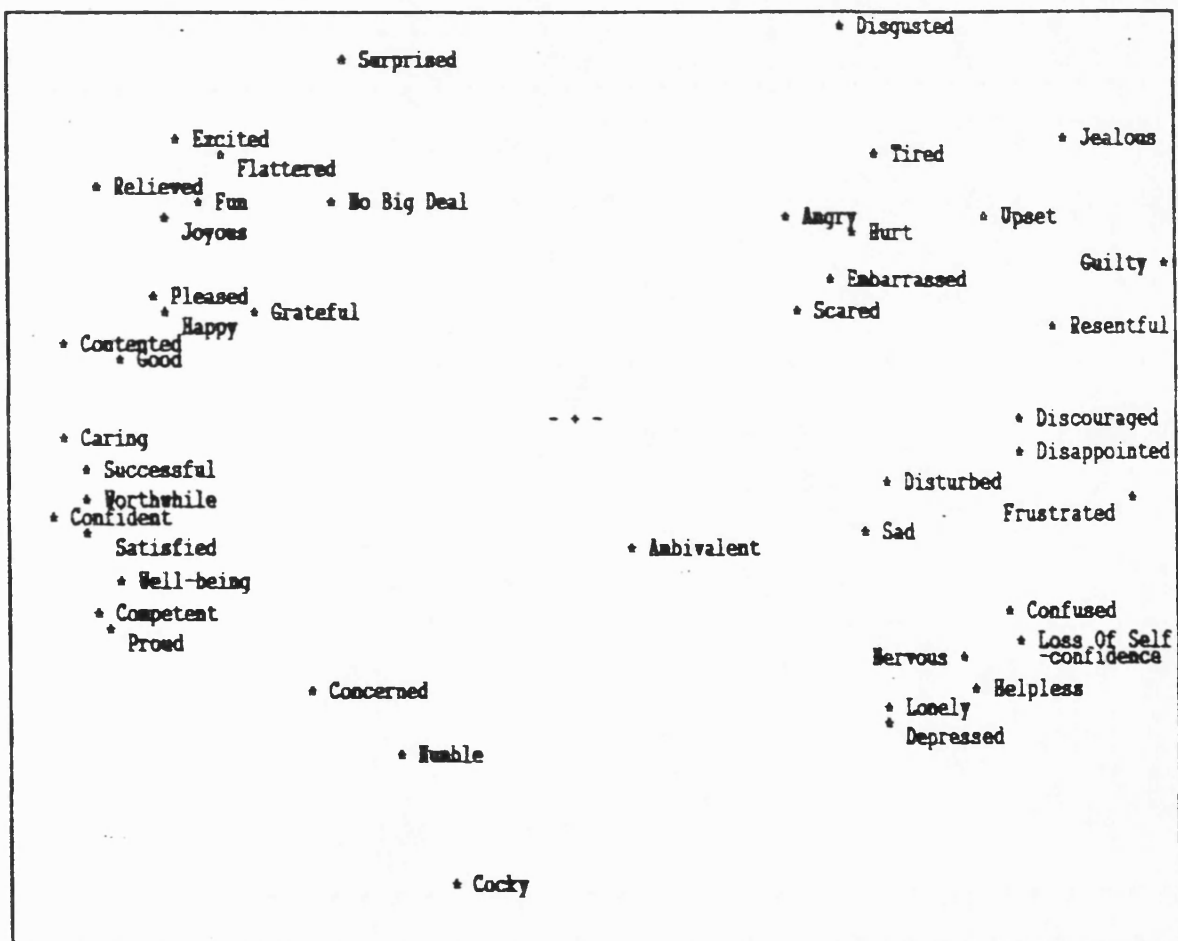
The MINISSA result presented here is the product of a two dimensional analysis with TIES=2 which regards the equality of data elements as important information and requires that the fitting values be equal for equal data. In HICLUS, the data is used to define a set of non-overlapping clusters such that the more similar pairs are joined before less similar pairs, hence the hierarchical nature of this analysis. The Guttman-Lingoes-Roskam MINI programs generated the starting configuration for both techniques (see Lingoes & Roskam, 1973, p17-19; Roskam, 1975, p37-44).

The MINISSA result below graphically represents the semantic association of the forty seven emotion labels in two dimensions. The closer that two emotion labels are to each other in the diagram, the closer they have been judged to be in meaning. Since the axes may be rotated at will, they are not drawn in. This allows attention to be concentrated upon characteristics of the configuration rather than the arbitrary

positioning of the axis (Coxon, 1982, p 78). Such coordinates are irrelevant to the problem since MDS does not in fact scale dimensions, it scales distance (Guttman, 1974). The overall stress value of 0.19114, which measures the goodness of the fit is low enough to accept the final configuration as a valid representation of the data (Coxon & Jones, 1979). Incidentally, 21% of this error was caused by fitting the elements 'jealous', 'guilty', and 'no-big-deal'. These elements may have characteristics which distinguish them from the rest of the elements (Coxon & Joones, 1979).

Diagram 1. MINISSA Output in two dimensions.

(Ties = 2, Stress = 0.19114)



An overview of the graphic outline shows a spread of points, on a circular pattern, around the periphery of the field. No major clustering is evident. The distance between each emotion label is proportionally based on how close in meaning they are perceived to be. The label 'lonely' is therefore seen to be semantically associated with such negative states as 'depressed', 'helpless', 'loss of self-confidence', 'nervous', and 'confused', and diametrically opposed to such positive states as 'relieved', 'fun', 'joyous', 'no-big-deal', 'flattered' and 'excited'. But how robust are these dis/associations? For example, although both depression and helplessness are related in meaning to loneliness, previous studies have failed to distinguish the specifics of this association (Diamant & Windholz, 1981). The HICLUS technique was applied for this purpose, to distinguish between close semantic clusters. Because this technique clusters more similar pairs before less similar ones, a hierarchy is produced with the most robust associations represented by the highest level (x's in the diagram).

Diagram 2. HICLUS output showing the hierarchy of relationships.

| LEVEL IN THE HIERARCHY-----> | LABELS (WITH CODE NUMBER) |
|------------------------------|---|
| LOW ----- HIGH | |
| xx | 46. "No-Big-Deal" |
| xxx | 47. Ambivalent, uncertain |
| xxxx | 8. Relieved |
| xxxxxxxx | 15. Cocky, smug, conceited, boastful |
| xxxxxxxx | 20. Surprised |
| xxxxxxxxxxxx | 6. Flattered |
| xxxxxxxxxxxx | 18. Grateful |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 11. Contented |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 13. Confident, encouraged |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 7. Successful, accomplishment |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 14. Worthwhile, accepted, useful |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 12. Sense of well-being |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 9. Proud, positive-selfimage |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 17. Competent, capable |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 19. Caring, loving |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 4. Good |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 1. Happy |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 3. Pleased |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 5. Satisfied |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 10. Fun, feeling of enjoyment |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 2. Joyous, great, ecstatic, elated |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 23. Excited |
| xxxxxx | 16. Humble |
| xxxxxx | 26. Concerned |
| xxxx | 21. Tired, exhausted |
| xxxx | 33. Guilty |
| xxxxxx | 30. Angry |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 35. Resentful |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 39. Jealous |
| xxxxxxxxxx | 25. Embarrassed, ashamed, stupid |
| xxxxxxxxxx | 28. Frustrated |
| xxxxxxxxxx | 32. Upset, shook-up |
| xxxxxxxxxx | 37. Scared, panicked, fearful |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 29. Sad, unhappy, low, bad |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 34. Hurt |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 36. Rejected |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 40. Defeated, feeling of failure |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 38. Disappointed |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 43. Discouraged, deflated, disheartened |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 22. Nervous |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 24. Confused, bewildered, puzzled |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 44. Disturbed, uneasy, apprehensive |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 42. Helpless, resigned |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 41. Lack/loss of self-confidence/worth |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 31. Depressed, dejected, despondent, despairing |
| xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx | 45. Lonely |
| xxxxxx | 27. Disgusted |

Of interest are the two main clusters of positive (at the top) and negative emotion labels. Of these, the most significant cluster is between 'loneliness' and 'depression', which is then clustered at a lower level with 'lack of self-confidence', and 'helpless'. At this level the other lower cluster of 'nervous', 'confused', and 'disturbed' is combined. The concept 'tired' is in the centre, since it could either refer to both enjoyable or emotional exhaustion, such a position mirrors its capacity to be either a positive or a negative emotion.

2.3.3. Interpretation

In general, as Russell (1979; 1980) has argued, emotion labels are perceived and organised in relationships which are based on bipolar (negative or positive) and circumplex (round) pattern (schema). What this means is that when asked to evaluate emotion labels, people first tend to make a positive or negative value judgment, and then associate the labels to non-exclusive groups. It is this inclusive nature of the clusters which creates the overall circumplex pattern. If people applied exclusive categories for the labels, this would have resulted in distinct and separate clusters.

We can therefore infer that emotion labels can be associated with other types of emotions as long as they are all positive or negative. This "fuzziness" (Hersh & Caramazza, 1976) within each of the two poles gives us this

characteristic schema. How does this contribute to our theory?

We argued in the preceding theoretical chapter that knowledge (conscious or otherwise) of this schema is a prerequisite for labelling an emotion. It is of very little use when we communicate with others, if we have no knowledge about the consensus meaning of the labels that we are employing. This schema is a representation of the consensus meaning of emotion labels. Within each pole, each emotion label is variably associated with each other. The label of 'lonely' is perceived to be a very close associate of 'depressed' which mimics previous results from diverse studies (see page 28). However this association is also judged to be related to 'helpless', 'nervous', 'loss of self-confidence' and 'confused'. People reporting such feelings are therefore liable to be labelled as either lonely or depressed. The simplicity of the overall pattern is however deceptive. The HICLUS technique exposed a hierarchical structure which defined 'lonely' and 'depressed' as having the closest association among emotions, and that this relationship is separate from the emotions defined by the group disappointed; discouraged; nervous; and confused.

We need to be careful about interpreting these results and to bear in mind that they concern consensual judgements about emotion labels. The precise utility of this hierarchy, although significant in its distinct demarcation between clusters of emotion, does very little at this stage in

elucidating its utility. As Thorndyke & Yekovich (1980) have argued, what is lacking in the literature are explanations of how these conceptual frameworks are made use of by the individual.

The theory outlined in the preceding chapter argues that although emotion labels are evaluated and perhaps experienced as a schema, the persistence of one emotion over others might be based on a separate process. This process could indeed be based on an implicit hierarchical knowledge of the semantics of emotion labels, whereby certain associations 'stick out' more than others (eg like that between loneliness and depression). The role of moods, to present a summary of the daily emotions (see page 25), might utilise the hierarchy of emotion labels - however the data gathered here does not allow us to investigate this. Similarly we might find that people experience emotions as distinct clusters rather than having 'fuzzy' associations which was a characteristic of the circumplex schema of the judged similarity between emotion labels. Such data does not exist at present. The consensus judgment of emotion labels needs to be tested against actual experience. This is the challenge of the next chapter.

2.4. General Conclusion

The consensus belief is that what is important when evaluating someone as lonely is how they report feeling. Why empirical studies have evaded such an investigation in exclusive favour of the attribution approach seems inexplicable. The strength of this finding can be gauged by

asking someone to define what loneliness or a lonely person is. Invariably, they will refer to feelings before causes or behaviours. How people feel is not only important to themselves but also when making evaluations about others. All of this was hinted at when May (1969, p90) pointed out that ;

" Feelings are rightfully a way of communicating with significant people in our world, a reaching out to mould the relationship with them, they are a language by which we interpersonally construct and build. "

It is the feeling of loneliness that is important. The non-significant difference between internal and external attributes in the type of questions directed at the lonely and the non-lonely suggests that loneliness is perceived by others not to be controlled exclusively by the individual or the situation.

If people are primarily concerned with how others feel when making their evaluations, then the schema of emotions elicited by the MDS study have particular relevance, not only in the way that others evaluate the lonely but perhaps in the way that loneliness itself feels. The HICLUS and MINISSA results place loneliness with depression as the core negative emotions. With this core structure is attached a defined set of emotions made up of feeling helpless, nervous, confused, loss of self-confidence, disappointed, and discouraged. The challenge is to take these basic structures and to test them against the experience and development of loneliness. The following chapter takes on this challenge, and attempts to provide unique evidence for the utilisation of schema and hierarchical structures as important psychological processes in the communication of loneliness.

3. CHAPTER THREE : LONELINESS ACROSS TIME

3.1. INTRODUCTION

3.2. DESIGN

3.3. PARTICIPANTS

3.4. APPARATUS

3.5. PROCEDURE

3.6 RESULTS

3.6.1. ANALYSIS

3.7. INTERPRETATION

3.8. DISCUSSION

CHAPTER THREE : A Longitudinal Study of Loneliness.

'Loneliness, loneliness, when so many are lonely, as seen to be lonely, it would be inexcusably selfish to be lonely alone'.

T.Williams (1964).

3.1. Introduction.

Loneliness is experienced by most people at some time in their life. It can be experienced in different intensities and for different durations. It is reported by young adults and the aged. It is experienced under different situations and can be reacted to differently by each individual. Loneliness has been the theme for poets, writers, philosophers and scientists. Loneliness is widespread enough to be called universal (D'Abov, 1972). Given this breadth of interest it is difficult to define clear empirical questions without first understanding why people report feeling lonely.

Loneliness can take the form of a fleeting episode or a more profound experience. It is very much a label to 'translate' a feeling of perhaps different intensities, duration and even quality. Systematic enquiry into the meaning of loneliness developed with the first questionnaires measuring loneliness (Bradley, 1969; Eddy, 1961; Sisenwein, 1964). Such methods, because they are required to test an event which is reliable and not ephemeral, have looked at the more permanent state of trait loneliness (see Russell, 1982 for reliability testing of loneliness questionnaires). In the introductory chapter however, a distinction was made between feeling, emotion, mood and trait and it was argued that these states are qualitatively different. For example, reporting

that one feels lonely constantly or sometimes represent different experiences. The questionnaire approach looks at general reports of loneliness without due emphasis to such subtle fleeting variations. Research investigating styles of interaction of the lonely have predominantly followed this questionnaire methodology (Moore, 1976; Moore & Sermat, 1974; Goswick & Jones, 1981; Loucks, 1980; Shostrom, 1964). This methodology is productive in charting responses to questions indicating how lonely people would evaluate themselves if prompted, but what is the validity of these questionnaires?

The Global and Multidimensional types of questionnaires discussed earlier (p 34), use different samples for defining the validity of their questions. However the method is the same; people are asked how lonely they are and then this is correlated with the scores on their questionnaire. For example in the UCLA loneliness questionnaire (Russell, Peplau & Cutrona, 1980) the validity score was 0.75, for the DLS questionnaire (Schmidt & Sermat, 1983) the validity was between 0.449 and 0.577. The argument in this study is that since there is not a more valid method of recording someone's loneliness than their self-reports, why distort this method by applying less valid measures?

Questionnaire studies achieve their full usefulness when they are designed to tap different components within the loneliness experience. However this benefit is lost when the global measures of loneliness are used, such as the popular UCLA questionnaire which solely measures the intensity. Nevertheless, these prolific questionnaire studies have defined significant differences between the lonely and the

non-lonely (see p 14-20) and such advancement in our knowledge can provide a basic theoretical understanding of loneliness.

Lonely individuals have been reported as having a more negative evaluation of themselves and others which is argued to hinder the process of initiating contact with others (Goswick & Jones, 1981; Horowitz & French, 1979). This is also paralleled by reports that lonely individuals are more concerned with the past and the future than non-lonely individuals (Shostrom, 1964, 1966). Similar results have also been reported for the depressed (eg Mahoney, 1977 among others). This general negative outlook that lonely individuals are reported to have, has also been related to their belief that alternative coping is limited (Izard & Beuchler, 1980). These results suggest that beliefs or assumptions that a lonely person holds about him or herself determine the persistence of his or her loneliness. But to what extent do these correlates reflect people's rationalisations rather than the actual experience of loneliness?

The psychological process which people initiate to try and make the past a coherent thematic experience is not a new idea and finds reference both in historical theory (eg Gestalt school) and current thought (Duck & Sants 1983). At this stage in the research what is of interest is in how salient these issues are when experiencing loneliness.

The salient concerns of a lonely individual are perhaps the gateway to understanding the inception of loneliness:

" Why is it so important to take the reports of states of mind and the expressions of intention so seriously ? It

is partly because the system of rules and meanings under which social life is lived can only be grasped by studying the reports and commentaries of social actors " Harre & Secord (1972, p 108).

This study is concerned with recording and investigating personal reports and commentaries in the context in which loneliness is experienced and reported. In particular the common experience of loneliness might provide new insights into its inception as an emotion and its development as a mood. This is the main theme of this study, to investigate differences between salient issues reported when people feel lonely against when they do not report feeling lonely.

To build on the findings of the previous chapter, the first investigation is concerned with whether emotions are experienced in a similar pattern to the schema derived for the judgment of emotion labels. If there are differences between the judged and experienced pattern of emotions, then there are serious flaws with the schema-triggered affect theory (Fiske, 1980). For example, Kahneman & Tversky (1979) have argued that individuals use shortcuts when making judgments, and that it is probably these heuristics that people used to judge labels of emotion. Does the judgment of similarity between emotion labels differ from how the emotions are experienced? Perhaps emotions are experienced without any discernible pattern, at random. Just as likely, perhaps loneliness is experienced as beneficial rather than experienced in relation to other negative emotions.

Earlier references to loneliness in the literature have suggested that loneliness is a paradox, oscillating between beneficial and negative aspects (Fromm-Reichmann, 1959). This

paradoxical nature of loneliness is contrary to the results reported in the earlier chapter where loneliness was judged exclusively as a negative emotion. Although there might exist latent benefits from loneliness, the emotion is judged to be distinctly negative. The natural development from this would be to evaluate the type of feelings associated with people's reports of feeling lonely. Building on the knowledge gained so far of how loneliness is judged, it is possible to predict that this experience would similarly be reported as negative. If it was found that emotions are experienced in clusters which share similar meanings, how are the labels chosen from among this cluster to represent a summing-up feeling (ie mood)?

The Differential Emotion Theory proposes that the innate hierarchical organisation of emotion labels influences how people make use of these labels (Izard, 1977; deRivera, 1977). The argument is that individuals perceive that emotion labels are semantically organised (on the basis of how similar they are to each other) and that this organisation has an hierarchical understructure. The test is whether this hierarchy, which is not necessarily apparent, effects how labels are used over others.

Our main interest is in any difference between labels used to denote emotions and labels used to denote mood. As mood was defined as a less intense and more diffuse state than emotion (p 25), then it is expected that labels which are most related to others, and therefore more diffuse in meaning, will be used to describe moods. Therefore, on the basis of the results from the previous chapter, the labels of depressed,

nervous, disappointed, joyous, proud and successful are expected to be used more frequently than other labels to describe mood.

Because this hierarchy is based on judgement (rather than experience), if individuals are found to exploit this knowledge then it could be argued that the transition from an emotion to mood is facilitated by the underlying linguistic knowledge we have about labels and thus quelling criticisms that the schema concept has no theoretical development (Thorndyke & Yekovich, 1980). Therefore, the developing theme for this chapter is that the salience of events and emotions reported with loneliness will allow us to understand the experience of loneliness with more clarity than if we had to prompt people for such associations.

The objective of a longitudinal study is primarily to address pertinent questions about causality. The main emphasis of this chapter is to examine some of the causal issues involved in loneliness. There exists an implicit belief that people's moods are determined, at least in part, by daily experiences. There are very few longitudinal studies looking at loneliness, and there seems to be no empirical data on daily influences on loneliness.

Research into general moods have however reported correlations of -0.37 between the number of pleasant events during the day and depression (Lewinshon & Libet, 1972; Lewinshon & Graf, 1973; MacPhillany & Lewinshon, 1974; Rehm, 1978). These correlations are however based on the quality of events rather than related to specific events. In a typical

study, Lewinshon & Libet (1972) failed to find a reliable correlation between certain specific events and same-day moods. The reason for this lack of specificity could be related to the involvement and functional use of moods in recreating past experiences (Stone, 1981).

Numerous studies have shown how emotional states bias evaluation of experiences (Bower, 1981; Gouax, 1971; Isen & Shalker, 1982; Isen, Shalker, Clark & Karp, 1978). Reported findings, for example, link depressed mood with the likelihood of reporting a particular quality of event (Nelson & Craighead, 1977; Clark & Teasdale, 1982; and DeMonbreun & Craighead, 1977).

In one such study, Clark & Teasdale (1982) looked at depressed patients with diurnal mood variation at two different times during the day. On each occasion these patients recalled past real-life experiences associated to neutral stimuli words (eg train, ice). At the end of the second session they rated the experiences recalled at the first and second session for happiness or unhappiness, both at the time they occurred in real life and their own current happiness state. It was found that favourable experiences were recalled more frequently when less depressed and unfavourable experiences when depressed. The recalled experience was more likely to be rated less positively than the original hedonic tone the more depressed a person was while making the ratings.

The influence of this phenomenon also seems to extend to judgments about other peoples' emotional states, such that

these judgments become more consistent with the perceiver's own emotional state (Feshbach & Feshbach, 1963; Feshbach & Singer, 1957; Hornberger, 1960; Schiffenbauer, 1974). Thus, how you feel influences how you evaluate others' feelings. The plausibility that mood can, and does, influence reporting of events presents a causal quandary.

Explanations for such findings have emerged from the different areas of perception and memory. Isen (1975), Isen et al (1978), and Bower (1981) have argued that affective states increase the accessibility of similarly toned material from memory and that this accessibility provides the knowledge for judgment and therefore forms the basis for change (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Extrapolating from such findings, the effect of loneliness, by converging thought, could highlight deficits in specific areas. In line with this argument, all emotions are an intrinsic catalyst for change by making certain episodes or issues more salient than others (Arnold, 1960; Averill, 1980; deRivera, 1977; Izard & Buechler, 1980; Lazarus, 1968; Leeper, 1970; Plutchik, 1980; Tomkins, 1965).

Such salient daily associations of loneliness are acutely required in this field of study if the 'rules and meanings' (Harre & Secord, 1972) underlying people's reports of loneliness are to be understood. Are there particular events which are associated with daily reports of loneliness? Is loneliness more likely to be reported if other emotions are experienced? Is there a difference in people's perception of themselves and others when they report feeling lonely which is not evident when they do not report feeling lonely? Is

loneliness caused by such daily associations, or is there a close but reciprocal causal association between loneliness and such significant correlates?

Such a study based on daily reports are however limited to one-day events. Longer lagged correlations have eluded significant results in multivariate analyses in emotion research (eg next-day mood ratings, Rehm, 1978).

Two phenomenological studies exist which look at the development of loneliness, and the similarity of their results are noteworthy. In the first study, Landefeld (1976) interviewed seventeen widowed people and noted that 'the meaning set' of loneliness did not generally 'set-in' until three months after the death of a spouse. Similarly Krulik (1978) found that children responded with more aloneness subcategories at 2.9 months after the diagnosis of Chronic Life Threatening Diseases (CLTD; eg Leukaemia, Cancer). Any longitudinal study must therefore exceed this period of three months if it is to have any validity.

This validity is necessary, primarily because one of the main questions which reoccurs in the literature on loneliness is whether persistent loneliness develops from an incremental experience of transient loneliness or whether persistent loneliness has a different aetiology to transient loneliness. If we look at daily reports of loneliness we can test whether such incidences build up over time to create persistent loneliness.

In the psychometric literature various models for the analysis of longitudinal data have been proposed (Joreskog,

1970; Werts, Joreskog & Linn, 1972; Coballis, 1973; Schmidt & Wiley, 1974; Frederiksen, 1974). The main problem with using these models has been that, for social scientists, there are complexities in dealing with the measurement error inherent in scaling abstract concepts, the ordinal nature of the data, and the overwhelming competition between theoretical models. A statistical model which has gained popular support in confronting such problems has been the LISREL package (analysis of Linear Structural Relationships by the Method of Maximum Likelihood; Joreskog & van Thillo, 1973) but not without competition (BENWEE, Browne, 1982; COSAN, McDonald, 1978; LACCI, Muthen, 1983). The models are well introduced by Blalock (1971; 1974) and Bentler (1980). The basic 'philosophy' of LISREL is that it tests and compares theoretical models against the data. It therefore appears appropriate for testing, (a) the theoretical distinction between evaluations and loneliness, and (b) whether there exists an incremental effect in loneliness.

This study is concerned with recording and investigating personal reports and commentaries on the context in which loneliness is experienced and reported. In particular the common experience of loneliness might provide new insights into its inception as an emotion, and its development as a mood. Thus, the main themes of this study are;

1. to investigate differences between salient issues reported when people feel lonely against when they do not report feeling lonely,
2. whether there are differences between the judged and experienced schemas of emotions,
3. whether emotion labels which are more diffuse in meaning are used to describe moods,
4. to test whether there is a theoretical distinction between

- significant daily events and loneliness, and
5. whether there exist incremental effects in loneliness.

3.2. Design

The aim of this study was to obtain information about the type of activities performed and their associated feelings on a given day. This information was required for periods of seven days, at five different periods across a seven month time span. At the end of each trial day, the participants wrote down the type of activities that they engaged in and how they felt at the time, and to evaluate their overall mood for the day. The following sections describe the participants who took part in this study, the format of the diary and procedure.

3.3. Participants

The participants were all first-year social science undergraduate students at Bath University. The choice of sample was determined by the following considerations;

1. that the group can be easily contacted,
2. for the group to be articulate,
3. that they were likely to acquiesce to the inconvenient task of keeping a diary, and
4. that first-year undergraduates are more susceptible to loneliness than other groups of the same age (SeEVERS, 1972).

Initially, a number of lecturers were informally approached for the names of potentially lonely students. A hand written note was sent to these nominees explaining the interest in loneliness and the intention of the present study. Out of the initial 25 nominees, nine students came forward to discuss the project and eight of these agreed to participate. One further participant was recruited during the third trial

3.4. Apparatus

A week before each of the five trials were designed to start each of the participants received;

- a, a set of instructions on how to fill in the diaries,
 - b, seven diaries formats (called Checklists in the instructions), and
 - c, seven self-addressed envelopes
- (see Appendix 4 for Checklist and instructions).

The first trial also included a calendar with the proposed weeks for the trials. Instructions gave detailed examples on how to fill in the diaries. The diaries were designed in two parts: the first part asked participants to note down the type of activity enacted, with whom it was performed, and how it made them feel; while the second part contained four Likert self-evaluation scales, and four open-ended questions about ¹ the overall mood of the day, ² how they would have behaved differently with hindsight, ³ how they would like to behave in the future, and ^c the effect of filling in the diaries. Space was provided for comments. (See Appendix 4)

3.5 Procedure

The study involved five weekly trials. Each participant completed a Diary for each day of the trial week. The weekly trials were separated by four or five weeks. The trial covered a period of six months and two weeks from beginning to end starting in December. Each of the diaries were filled-in under an anonymous code name and dispatched in its separate envelope at the end of each day of the trial week.

3.6. Results

Two hundred and twenty four diaries were returned from a potential of 280. From these reports, loneliness was reported seventeen times as an emotion out of a total of 2,229 emotions reported overall (0.76%), and reported five times as a mood by one participant out of a possible 224 total reported moods (2.23%). Because this was an unexpected result given that most studies have argued that most people feel lonely at sometime (eg Bradburn, 1969 reported that 27% of the population reported feeling lonely in a two week period previous to the study), the analysis of this study were based on the Likert self-evaluation scale of loneliness.

The Likert-scale measuring how much the individual evaluated themselves as lonely or not lonely on a 24 point scale was categorised for those occurrences where the participants reported high loneliness (above a scale of 20) and occurrences of low loneliness (scale 5 or less). This categorisation resulted in 12 occurrences of high loneliness and 41 occurrences of low loneliness. The following twelve tables show the frequency and percentages (in brackets) of activities against this lonely and non-lonely distinction (N=53). The interpretation of the results uses this distinction whenever the 'lonely' and 'non-lonely' terms are used.

Table 2; Type of activity reported when there was an occurrence of reported non-lonely or loneliness.

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|-------------|------------|----------|
| Socialising | 6 (14.6) | 0 (0.0) |
| Friends | 5 (12.2) | 0 (0.0) |
| Attitude | 1 (2.4) | 1 (8.3) |
| Residence | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) |
| Family | 3 (7.3) | 3 (25.0) |
| Income | 1 (2.4) | 0 (0.0) |
| Hobbies | 2 (4.9) | 0 (0.0) |
| Religion | 1 (2.4) | 0 (0.0) |
| Education | 6 (14.6) | 1 (8.3) |
| Other | 1 (2.4) | 1 (8.3) |

Table 3; Type of contact reported when there was an occurrence of reported non-lonely or loneliness.

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|------------|------------|----------|
| Father | 2 (4.9) | 3 (25.0) |
| Mother | 3 (7.3) | 2 (16.7) |
| Brother | 2 (4.9) | 1 (8.3) |
| Sister | 2 (4.9) | 1 (8.3) |
| Own Family | 5 (12.2) | 0 (0.0) |
| Spouse | 21 (51.45) | 7 (58.3) |
| Friend | 14 (34.1) | 6 (49.9) |
| Colleague | 20 (49.0) | 2 (16.7) |
| Flatmate | 10 (24.4) | 0 (0.0) |
| Lecturer | 13 (31.8) | 2 (16.7) |
| Machine | 2 (4.9) | 2 (16.7) |
| Kids | 14 (34.1) | 8 (58.3) |
| Staff | 3 (7.3) | 2 (16.7) |
| Stranger | 2 (4.9) | 0 (0.0) |

Table 4; Type of Activity whether passive, improvised, or organised participation.

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|-------------|------------|-----------|
| With Others | | |
| Passive | 4 (2.8) | 1 (2.3) |
| Improvised | 38 (26.6) | 10 (22.7) |
| Organised | 67 (46.9) | 14 (31.8) |
| Alone | | |
| Passive | 6 (4.2) | 8 (18.2) |
| Improvised | 8 (5.6) | 1 (2.3) |
| Organised | 20 (14.0) | 10 (22.7) |

Table 5; Evaluation of the Self, Others and Future.

| | Non-lonely | Lonely |
|----------|------------|----------|
| Self | | |
| Positive | 7 (17.1) | 1 (8.3) |
| Negative | 1 (2.4) | 2 (16.7) |
| Other | | |
| Positive | 7 (17.1) | 1 (8.3) |
| Negative | 1 (2.4) | 2 (16.7) |
| Future | | |
| Positive | 8 (19.5) | 2 (16.7) |
| Negative | 1 (2.4) | 3 (25.0) |
| Mixture | 0 (0) | 1 (8.3) |

Table 6; Overall quality of mood reported.

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|----------|------------|-----------|
| Neutral | 2 (2.4) | 0 (0) |
| Positive | 29 (70.7) | 1 (8.3) |
| Negative | 11 (26.8) | 11 (91.7) |

Table 7; Highest reported quality of emotion for the day

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|----------|------------|----------|
| Neutral | 2 (4.9) | 2 (16.7) |
| Positive | 34 (82.9) | 2 (16.7) |
| Negative | 5 (12.2) | 8 (66.7) |

Table 8; Total frequency of emotions reported.

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| | 402 (\bar{X} =9.8) | 146 (\bar{X} =12.16) |

Table 9; The effect of participating in the study that day.

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|---------------------------------|------------|----------|
| Forgot it | 5 (12.2) | 0 (0) |
| Positive | 0 (0) | 2 (16.7) |
| Negative | 11 (26.8) | 1 (8.3) |
| Augmented | 8 (19.3) | 0 (0) |
| Total number of references made | 24 (58.5) | 3 (25.0) |

Table 10; Coping alternatives suggested

| | Non-Lonely | Lonely |
|-------------|------------|----------|
| Neutral | 9 (22.0) | 3 (25.0) |
| Active | 10 (24.4) | 3 (25.0) |
| Passive | 1 (2.4) | 0 (0) |
| Combination | 6 (14.6) | 1 (8.3) |

Table 11; State of the relationship currently engaged in.

| | Non-lonely | Lonely |
|----------------|------------|----------|
| Contented | 7 (17.1) | 1 (8.3) |
| Discontented | 1 (2.4) | 6 (50.0) |
| Miss reltnshp. | 0 (0) | 2 (16.7) |
| All evaluation | 0 (0) | 1 (8.3) |

Table 12; Total number of reported activities.

| | Non-lonely | Lonely |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | 143 (\bar{X} =3.5) | 44 (\bar{X} =4) |

Table 13; Average number of words used in the Diary.

| | Non-lonely | Lonely |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 66 (\bar{X} =74.46) | 100 (\bar{X} =112.58) |

FREQUENCIES and
(Percentages in brackets)
 \bar{X} = mathematical mean

3.7 Interpretation

Diaries are very much different from questionnaire studies in that the main content of the diaries are qualitative and contain inconsistent reports of events. The anonymity of responding to a questionnaire, and the actuality of reporting unprompted that you feel lonely, are two very different phenomena. In particular, in the diaries, the experience needs to be intense enough for it to be recorded (Harre & Secord 1972). Keeping a diary as part of a research project is similar to self-disclosing to a stranger. The importance of this type of information is, not surprisingly, realised by the participants.

Key; The number in brackets refers to the participant number, week day, and Diary week trial.

"Saying more than I would to a diary - not the only one doing this, might be read by the wrong person" (912)

"I shall miss doing this. Its like having your own private confession box" (857)

"I shall miss not having someone to tell my deepest secrets to anonymously" (757)

"I have been looking forward to filling it in (Diary). I like to write things down it helps me to sort-out my feelings" (751)

"I hope you realise what an effort it is to sit in bed at 2 am, pissed as a newt filling this in - especially at exam time. I think you are a sadist" (852)

"(Diary) becoming more of a drain and harder" (544)

"Keeping this (diary) is a pain in the arse" (143)

It is not unexpected to find that students have high expectations of a 'student life' which very often meet with disappointment. Such expectations are a valid study in themselves and formed a major part of the empirical investigation in the following chapter. In the diaries, very

little of these expectations or intentions were recorded, which suggests that a diary methodology is more applicable for transient daily events. The following comments give some indication that what is reported in the diaries is preceded by a history of events and intentions which are unrecorded in the diaries;

"I feel I should do something dramatic or exciting to justify the (diary)" (827)

"How boring my life is" (725)

"I'm sorry very little has happened to me - I'm a very dull person who lives a dull existence" (217)

"Sorry that nothing of importance ever happens to me" (227)

"You picked really boring persons to study - or maybe that is the point" (145)

Given that diaries contain a mixture of self-disclosure which indicate such beliefs and expectations, summarising such reports into distinct features needs to be theory driven. The problem of presenting what was reported into condensed features is not, in itself, that far removed from the effort reported by the participants when they came to try and explain their daily emotions;

"I'm frustrated because I can feel 20 different emotions within a few minutes" (753)

"It's very difficult to isolate situations, they tend to flow into each other" (337)

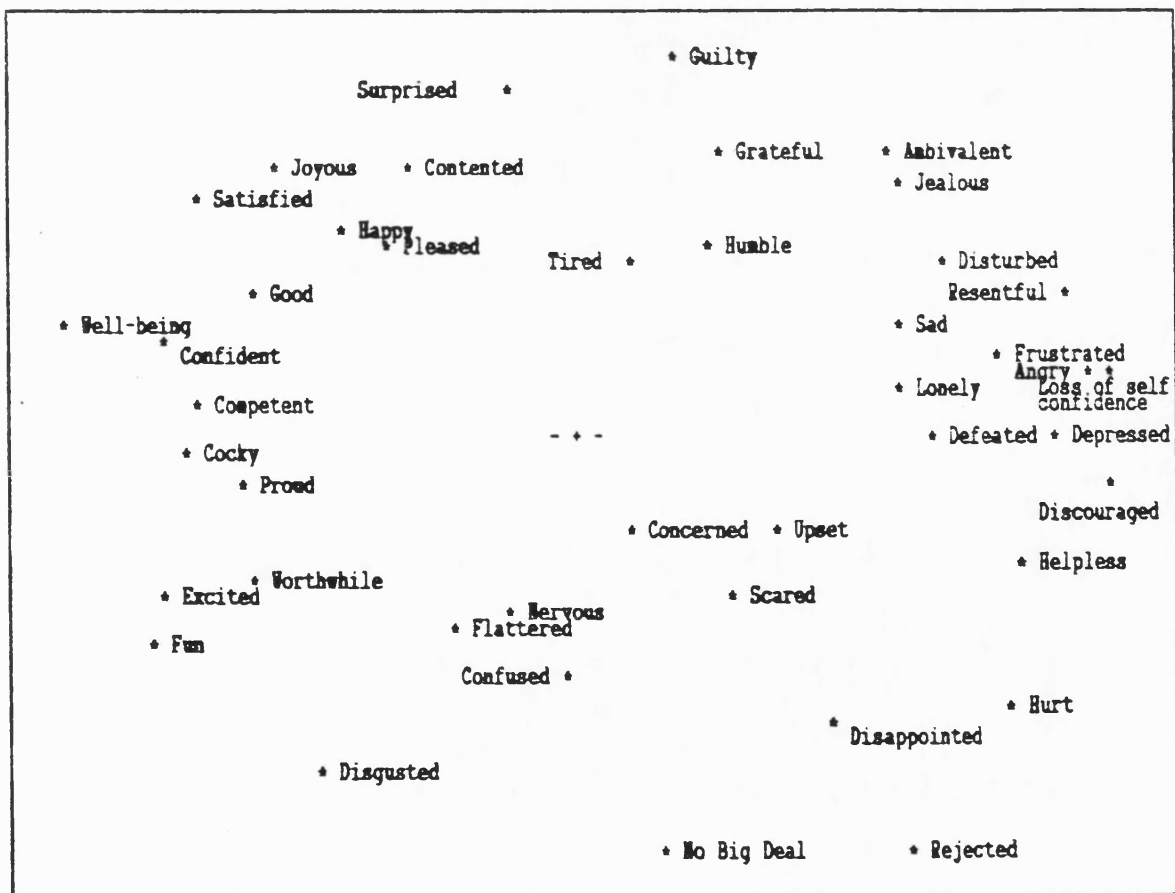
"Pissed-off, no (cause) in particular, just woke up feeling uncooperative" (835)

"Non-emotion sort of day" (842)

"I cannot differentiate between good and bad feelings, all is muddled, yet perfectly clear in its muddle" (657)

These type of reports provide further validation for not categorising emotions into groups but to present this interrelationships as a feature of emotions. In the previous chapter the schema of judged emotion labels was presented and one of the issues which arose was that this schema could be a reflection of the shortcuts people use when making judgments (heuristics; Kahneman & Tversky 1979). In order to test that such interrelationships exist in reality and not as a result of these heuristics, a MINISSA multidimensional scaling technique was utilised for the experienced pattern of emotions (the data for this analysis was a matrix of correlations made up of how often two emotions were reported together).

Diagram 1. MINISSA Output in two dimensions of Experienced Emotion labels.
(TIES=2, Stress=0.249)



The above diagram represents the final output from this technique. This schema of experienced emotions is similar to the judged schema of emotions (p 63) in a number of ways.

Firstly, there still is the circumplex pattern where the emotion labels are plotted around the centre, with the positive emotions on the opposite side to the negative emotions. Secondly, concentrating on the cluster of negative emotions around loneliness, there seems to be general agreement with the judged schema with loneliness still being related to a 'loss of self-confidence', feeling of 'helplessness', and 'depression'. However, the cluster around loneliness has become more spread out, reflecting greater variation in experiencing loneliness with other emotions, and the other difference between these two schemas is that loneliness is experienced with, but not judged to be related to, 'anger', 'resentment', 'sadness', 'frustration' and a sense of 'defeat'.

Of interest is that the label 'nervous' which was not closely related in the experience of loneliness as people judged it to be. Its close association was taken over by the labels of 'defeated' and 'angry', suggesting that people experience loneliness as an associate of a more definite reaction (either defeated or angry) whereas its judged association was diffuse (nervous). This has important implication in the way in which loneliness is approached, in particular when participants are asked to use their judgement or record their experiences of loneliness.

One overall difference between the two schemas was that three emotion labels (Guilty, Humble, Cocky) changed their

association from being judged as negative to being experienced as positive, and vice versa for two emotion labels (No-big-deal and Flattered). Marcel (1982) has argued that the main difference between heuristics and experience is in the context. Therefore, how these emotions were reported in the diaries might present a better understanding of why these labels apparently changed in meaning. The following are examples of some of these contexts, the first three refer to labels which were experienced as positive but judged to be negative, while the fourth and fifth refer to labels which were judged as positive but experienced as negative;

Guilty; Missed lecture, bumped into lecturer later. I would like not to revise but still do well in test.

Humble; Sat silently throughout the whole programme of War Requiem music, has quietened me.

Cocky; Went to keep-fit classes, relaxed me after working all day.

No-big-deal; Went to the bar, left after half an hour, once more I have resolved not to go there without reason.

Flattered; Had a chat. Felt flattered that he wanted to talk to me for so long. Afterwards I felt guilty of my feelings towards him. I think he fancies me, help, I can't get myself into this. I must try and avoid him.

What these accounts represent is the importance of the social context in giving specific meaning and significance to emotions. It is this social context which the judgement of emotion labels did not expose but which has been reflected in the schema of experienced emotions. With hindsight, the argument is intuitive, if you feel guilty, for example, it is because you have done something which you (relatively) enjoyed and should not have.

In total, 2,229 emotions and 224 moods were reported overall by the participants. In the introductory chapter it was argued that emotions and moods are qualitatively different stages. This difference can be seen from the table below which represents the overall frequencies of reported emotions and moods.

For example, although fun, concerned and good were reported frequently as emotions they were not reported as mood. There is therefore some criteria which selects some labels, over others, as appropriate for mood. The introduction to this chapter argued that the hierarchical meaning of emotions should determine this selection process. On this theoretical basis, it was expected that the following labels will be used more frequently to denote moods;

'Successful', 'Worthwhile', 'Joyous', 'Excited',
 'Disappointed', 'Discouraged', 'Nervous', 'Confused',
 'Depressed' and 'Lonely'

These labels were shown to have a more diffuse meaning by occupying a higher level in the HICLUS schema generated for the judged similarity of emotions (Diagram 2, p 64).

The results in table 14 does tend to substantiate this claim. The problem was that some of the labels used to denote mood were not part of the list of labels provided, and included such labels as;

lethargic, enclosed, introverted, preoccupied, paranoid, secure, stable, popular and ambitious.

However, overall, there is a tentative suggestion that labels are used to denote moods on the linguistic criterion of how diffuse they are in meaning.

Table 14: Frequencies of reported emotions (n=2229) and mood (n=224).

| | <u>emotions</u> (n=2229) | <u>mood</u> * (n=224) |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Happy | 141 | 5 |
| 2. Joyous, great, ecstatic, elated | 50 | 2 |
| 3. Pleased | 99 | 0 |
| 4. Good | 103 | 0 |
| 5. Satisfied | 75 | 2 |
| 6. Flattered | 13 | 0 |
| 7. Successful, accomplishment | 46 | 12 |
| 8. Relieved | 67 | 0 |
| 9. Proud, positive-selfimage | 38 | 0 |
| 10. Fun, feeling of enjoyment | 136 | 0 |
| 11. Contented | 95 | 6 |
| 12. Sense of well-being | 84 | 0 |
| 13. Confident, encouraged | 70 | 2 |
| 14. Worthwhile, accepted, useful | 78 | 5 |
| 15. Cocky, smug, conceited, boastful | 13 | 0 |
| 16. Humble | 14 | 0 |
| 17. Competent, capable | 58 | 0 |
| 18. Grateful | 21 | 0 |
| 19. Caring, loving | 70 | 0 |
| 20. Surprised | 23 | 0 |
| 21. Tired, exhausted | 93 | 0 |
| 22. Nervous | 45 | 13 |
| 23. Excited | 51 | 0 |
| 24. Confused, bewildered, puzzled | 45 | 10 |
| 25. Embarrassed, ashamed, stupid | 13 | 2 |
| 26. Concerned | 83 | 0 |
| 27. Disgusted | 8 | 0 |
| 28. Frustrated | 76 | 0 |
| 29. Sad, unhappy, low, bad | 54 | 0 |
| 30. Angry | 47 | 0 |
| 31. Depressed, dejected, despondent, despairing | 51 | 15 |
| 32. Upset, shook-up | 23 | 0 |
| 33. Guilty | 29 | 0 |
| 34. Hurt | 7 | 0 |
| 35. Resentful | 30 | 0 |
| 36. Rejected | 6 | 2 |
| 37. Scared, panicked, fearful | 17 | 0 |
| 38. Disappointed | 36 | 9 |
| 39. Jealous | 3 | 0 |
| 40. Defeated, feeling of failure | 11 | 0 |
| 41. Lack/loss of self-confidence/worth | 12 | 2 |
| 42. Helpless, resigned | 21 | 0 |
| 43. Discouraged, deflated, disheartened | 24 | 10 |
| 44. Disturbed, uneasy, apprehensive | 33 | 0 |
| 45. Lonely | 20 | 5 |
| 46. "No-Big-Deal" | 50 | 0 |
| 47. Ambivalent, uncertain | 47 | 0 |

* Some of the adjectives reported for moods were not part of this list.

Overall, participants reported more positive emotions (58.05%) and positive moods (58.6%) than negative or neutral emotions and moods. This is in agreement with previous studies which have argued that people perceive their ideal reference point as being closer to positive than negative emotions (Kerber & Clore, 1982; Sommers, 1984).

There are two possible explanations for this. One argument suggests that this perception is the result of what is expected, in terms of feeling, which influences the actual experience (Goldings, 1954; Wilson, 1967; Rochschie, 1979), while the second argument suggests that respondent's defensive denial and wishful thinking 'creates' this perception (Warehime & Jones, 1972).

For the first argument, the concept of moods as a 'summing-up of daily emotion' should be more prone to normative influence than the concept of emotion, however no significant difference was found between the frequency of positive emotions and positive moods (Chi-square, $\chi^2=3.336$, $df=2$, $p=0.19$). For the second argument, if wishful thinking and denial are meant to influence the reports of emotions they could also influence the rest of the issues being reported indiscriminately. This second argument is therefore too broad to enable interpretation in this study.

The finding here is that people generally report feeling positive and thus it is not surprising that they perceive their ideal reference point as positive. Overall, positive feelings outweigh negative feelings which is why when there is a predominance of negative feelings people tend to seek

explanations (Schwarz & Clore, 1983). As one of the participants aptly summarised;

"On good days I don't often stop and rationalise things as much as on bad days" (136)

However, our expectation that negative emotions might be related to the length of explanations, as measured by the number of words used to report events in the diary, was not substantiated. Although a significant correlation was obtained between the frequency of reported emotions and the number of words ($r=0.38$, $p>0.001$), there was no difference between positive or negative emotions (two sample $t=1.24$, $p=0.22$).

Similar results emerged for loneliness; in this case although more words were used by the non-lonely to describe activities for the day (mean=112.58 words) than when individuals evaluated themselves as lonely (mean=74.46 words), this difference was not significant ($t=1.57$, $df=51$, $p>0.14$). Therefore, although the claim was that negative emotions elicit more explanations, this was not found to be the case when the number of words used in the diaries represented the frequency of explanations. Perhaps negative emotions elicit repeated, rather than different, quest for explanations (ie asking the same question over and over), and that the process of writing down these cognitive activities eliminates this repetition.

An alternative argument could be that loneliness is a particular type of negative emotion which inhibits self-expression. Sloan & Solano (1984) have found such a finding when they reported that lonely subjects talked less

than non-lonely subjects, even though there did not seem to be any difference in their self-disclosure.

Such questions, it seems, cannot be answered within the present methodological confines and require longitudinal interview data to provide the required data.

What are the effects of daily events on loneliness, or emotion and mood in general? The diaries contained information about both the type of event (eg socialising, hobbies etc.) and type of person interacted with (eg friend, lecturer etc.).

The effect of events on the number of positive, negative or neutral emotions and mood reported for that day was found to be significant (for emotions chi-square $\chi^2=29.3$, $df=18$, $p=.045$; and for mood chi-square $\chi^2=31.5$, $df=18$, $p=.025$). Therefore certain situations are associated with a particular quality of feeling. However, the same was not found true for the type of person interacted with (for emotions chi-square $\chi^2=27.2$, $df=22$, $p>0.1$; and for mood chi-square $\chi^2=30.07$, $df=22$, $p>0.1$).

In summary, although certain situations were related to a particular quality of emotion and mood, no such association was found for the type of person interacted with. For loneliness, no significant association was found for type the of person that the participant reported interacting with, nor for the type of event reported to have been engaged in (chi-square $\chi^2=9.9$, $df=8$, $p>0.1$; $\chi^2=14.45$, $df=12$, $p>0.1$; respectively).

The following anecdotal examples illustrate how diverse peoples' explanation of their loneliness can be. Notice the variety of explanations ie., from self-blame to anger;

lonely, sad and loss of self-confidence (913)

"Asked by boy friend where I was going to live next year, lied, felt a failure, lied to cover-up my insecurity - feel depressed"

lonely, depressed, rejected, disappointed, defeated, helpless, nervous, excited, embarrassed, and sad (711)

"Woman hunt failed. (She) said no to a blatant request to go out, changed subject to future occasions of chance meetings...sudden 'gosh' at girls, thought how silly I was to ask and how much I have been overtaken by puerile emotions"

lonely, sad, confused, frustrated, and disappointed (411)

"Does God care, passing thought, tears. Would like to move off campus, faced with financial problems, feel castrated, have to accept it"

These results strongly suggests that loneliness is not readily associated with a particular situation. However, it is possible, that people are more likely to report feeling lonely when they are alone but want to be with people, or alternatively when with people and they want to be alone. Thus, loneliness may not be as dependent upon a particular event as upon the 'involvement' within that event. The following two quotations give an indication of how loneliness is reported when there is a lack of involvement;

lonely (216)

" Solitude, felt lonely, went for a drink with flatmates, quit glad for a change, didn't feel very well all day. Relieved to have got this day over "

lonely disgusted, disappointed (153)

" Walking, town crowded, felt alienated, stupid lot of tourists "

Even when loneliness was not reported against a specific activity, but when summing-up the overall feeling of the day, the underlying theme was this lack 'belonging'.

"Lonely and depressed about not having many friends - failed here, have one really good friend can't always be with, depend upon" (915)

"Tired and lonely because I am on my own, depressed" (744)

"I feel lonely when I want company and haven't got it. I feel lonely when I have company and don't want it. When I feel lonely I rationalise the situation, often overcoming loneliness in the process. It's when the rationalising doesn't work that I am genuinely lonely" (147)

To develop on this theme, the activities reported were coded to distinguish between those activities performed alone or with others (Appendix 5), and whether the associated emotions reported were positive, negative or neutral. The list of emotion labels used in the diary were coded by two independent judges on whether the labels stand for a

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| P. Happy | N. Embarrassed, ashamed, stupid |
| P. Joyous, great, ecstatic, elated | N. Concerned |
| P. Pleased | N. Disgusted |
| P. Good | N. Frustrated |
| P. Satisfied | N. Sad, unhappy, low, bad |
| P. Flattered | N. Angry |
| P. Successful, accomplishment | N. Depressed, dejected, despondent, despairing |
| P. Relieved | N. Upset, shook-up |
| P. Proud, positive-selfimage | N. Guilty |
| P. Fun, feeling of enjoyment | N. Hurt |
| P. Contented | N. Resentful |
| P. Sense of well-being | N. Rejected |
| P. Confident, encouraged | N. Scared, panicked, fearful |
| P. Worthwhile, accepted, useful | N. Disappointed |
| O. Cocky, smug, conceited, boastful | N. Jealous |
| O. Humble | N. Defeated, feeling of failure |
| P. Competent, capable | N. Lack/loss of self-confidence/worth |
| P. Grateful | N. Helpless, resigned |
| P. Caring, loving | N. Discouraged, deflated, disheartened |
| O. Surprised | N. Disturbed, uneasy, apprehensive |
| N. Tired, exhausted | N. Lonely |
| N. Nervous | O. "No-Big-Deal" |
| O. Excited | O. Ambivalent, uncertain |
| N. Confused, bewildered, puzzled | |

KEY; P=positive N=negative O=neutral

pleasurable (positive) or unpleasant (negative) emotion, or whether they were neutral. Neutral emotions were described as

emotions which could either be positive or negative depending on its context. The interjudge reliability was 0.96. The two labels which created the 0.04 error margin were 'cocky' and 'humble' as they were judged to be positive by one judge and negative by the other. These two labels were defined as neutral because of this possibility of being perceived as either positive or negative.

A similar distinction between time spent alone and with others and the related quality of emotions was made by Larson, Csikszentmihalyi, & Graef (1982) in a study where they looked at 107 adults and 75 adolescents. In this study the participants were equipped with time pagers which randomly beeped indicating to the participants to record the type of activity currently being performed and to evaluate themselves on eight emotion Likert scales (eg happy/unhappy). The authors reported that feeling relatively better alone was related to feeling worse with others, and that failing to experience the drop in moods appears to affect moods elsewhere.

In this study, by distinguishing between those instances where participants reported loneliness of greater or equal to 20 or less than or equal to 5 on the Likert self-evaluation scale, correlations were computed between the quality of emotion and whether the activity was performed alone or with someone else. Three significant correlations emerged:

- 1) For the non-lonely activity enacted with others and alone were both significantly correlated with positive emotions ($\rho=0.4731$, $p=0.0001$; $\rho=0.3352$, $p=0.016$) and
- 2) activities performed alone were inversely related with neutral emotions ($\rho=0.4553$, $p=0.016$), while

3) for the lonely, activities enacted with others was associated with neutral emotions ($\rho=0.7534$, $p=0.048$).

These results suggests that when not feeling lonely, any type of activity tends to be associated with positive emotions, but when feeling lonely, activities performed with others were reported to have been experienced with indifference (neutral emotions of 'no-big-deal', 'ambivalent', 'surprised', 'cocky' and 'humble').

This finding is important considering that for those participants who evaluated themselves as lonely, 83% of their daily reports referred to their relationships as a salient issue in their diaries, whereas for the non-lonely only 19.5% reported their relationships as salient concerns. Not only were relationships more salient an issue, but individuals evaluated these relationships to be more negative than when they reported not feeling lonely (Fishers exact probability $P=0.0087$). Those who reported feeling lonely similarly reported that they enjoyed filling in the diary more then when they reported not feeling lonely ($P=0.0329$, lonely $n=3$; non-lonely $n=24$).

The general conclusion is that loneliness is related to how the individual evaluates his or her contact with others. Because filling in the diaries was reported as a positive experience for the lonely, knowing that somebody is aware of how they feel could have acted as a form of therapy in itself. The fact that no significant difference was found for the total number of reported activities between the lonely and non-lonely suggests that this is not a quantitative issue (for

the non-lonely $n=41$, $\bar{X}=3.48$ activities per day, against those reported by the lonely $n=12$, $\bar{X}=3.66$ activities per day).

All the significant results indicate that reports of loneliness are not associated with a quantifiable deficit but with a type of evaluation. However such analysis does not take into account how significant factors themselves interact with each other. For example, in the loneliness literature, reviewed in chapter one, several studies have consistently reported that loneliness is related with a negative self- and other-evaluation, discontentment in relationship, and with a perceived lack of intimate or social contact (Goswick & Jones, 1981; Horowitz & French, 1979). Because of the consistency of these results it could be argued that loneliness is related to a general negative perception.

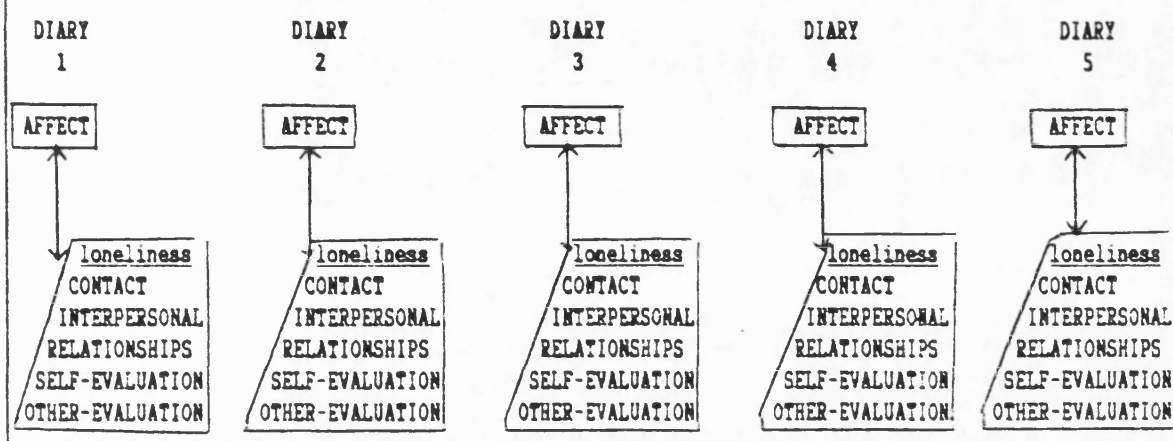
The diaries did contain such reports relating to self-, other-evaluation (Table 5), evaluation of their relationship (Table 11) and (from part B of the diary) perceived level of social or intimate contact. This basic data will be used to test the two hypothesis introduced in the introduction and which related to;

- a) that loneliness and associated general evaluations are causally related but distinct entities, and
- b) that there exist incremental effect in loneliness.

Table 15 represent a schematic diagram of the implicit view of loneliness based on the assumption that having a negative evaluation of self and others, of one's relationship and reporting a lack of social contact is synonymous with

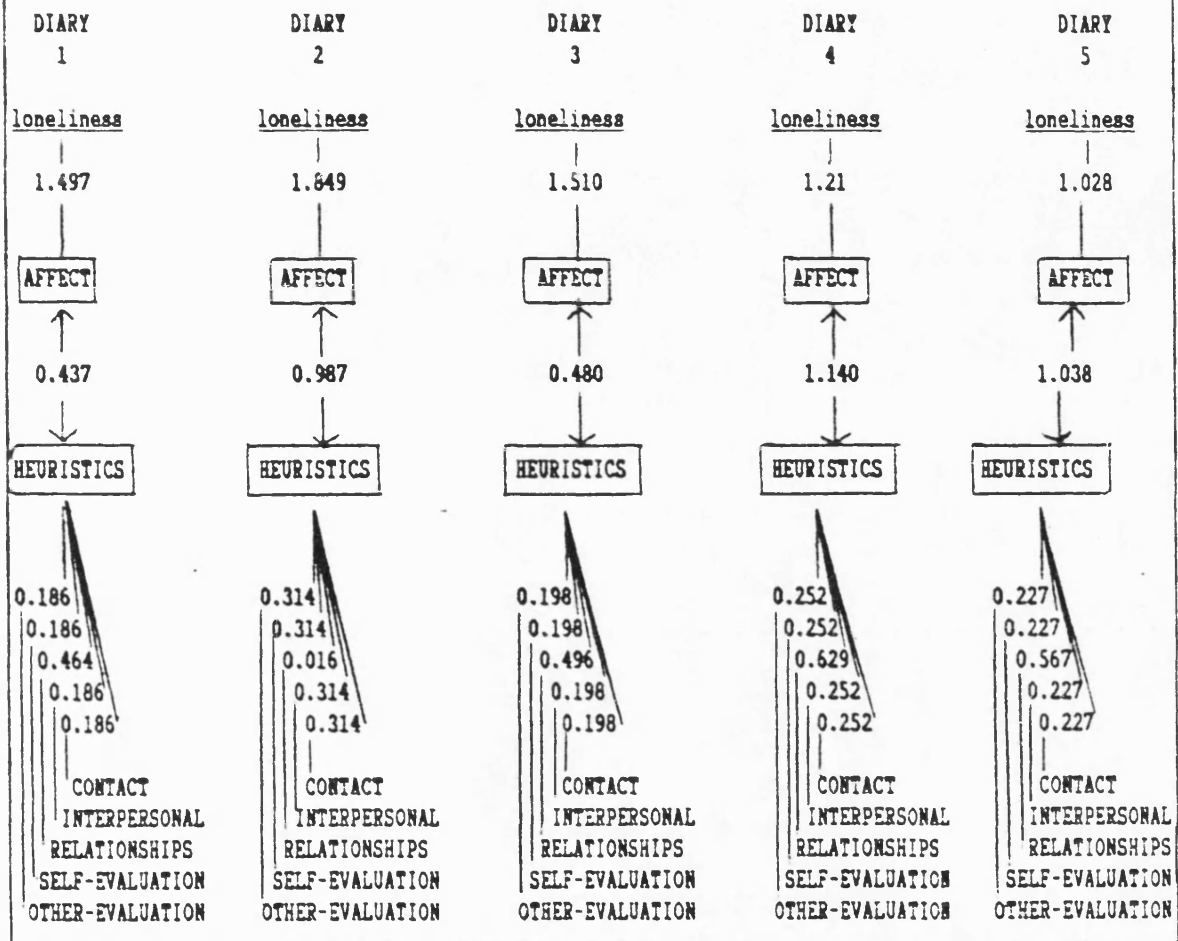
loneliness. (see Appendix 6 for the rationale and procedure for the LISREL IV analysis)

Table 15; A schematic diagram of the initial model which considered loneliness to be similarly related to a latent variable of 'affect' as was contact, interpersonal evaluation, relationship evaluation, self and other-evaluation.



In contrast with this theoretical assumption, is the claim that although loneliness and such related negative evaluations are causally related, they are nevertheless distinct and separate processes. Table 16 represent this model. Appendix 6 reports the rationale and procedure for the LISREL IV analysis (the model in table 15 is represented by model 7 and the model in table 16 is represented as model 9 in the original procedure). The Goodness-of-fit for the model in table 16 (GFI 0.95) against that for the model in table 15 (GFI 0.48) indicates, that assuming loneliness and these general negative evaluations to be one and the same thing does not fit the data as well as assuming that although loneliness

Table 16: Final Lisrel IV model showing that the experience of loneliness is separate but causally related with perceived level of contact relationship state, interpersonal evaluation, self- and other-evaluation.



and such related evaluations are related they are nevertheless distinct. The model in table 16 therefore represents the most accurate causal model of the data.

Overall the final model shows that two distinct latent variables termed as 'Heuristics' and 'Affect' causally interact across individual trial periods. The variables 'Affect' is represented by the observed variable of loneliness from the Likert scale in part B of the diary. The values in the model are estimated bivariate regression coefficients of the latent variables on the observed variables. The higher the value the more that the latent variable influences the

observed (latent variables are the dominant structure in the model). The highest influence by the 'Heuristic' latent variable is on the observed variable of relationship state, followed equally by perceived social contact and interpersonal event. The variables of self- and other-evaluation represent the lowest influence.

The model has no paths across different diary trials indicating that 'Affect' does not influence any subsequent 'Affect'. A similar picture emerged for the latent variable of 'Heuristic' with no lagged effect on subsequent periods. This indicates that the type of 'Affect' and 'Heuristic' which was tapped in this study, is transient, non-cyclical and not incremental. Reporting fleeting episodes of loneliness does not seem to build up to create consistent or trait loneliness, and that loneliness is a distinct but related experience to a general negative evaluation.

3.8. Discussion.

The labels used to define moods were found to be influenced, to some degree, by the linguistic knowledge that people have about the hierarchical structure of meaning of emotion labels. Because this structure was obtained from a separate study in chapter 2, it can be assumed that this network is a salient (if not conscious) part of our language.

As claimed in the introductory chapter and in chapter two, the concept which was supra-ordinate to loneliness was found to be depression. Depression as a result seems to be used to encompass the meaning of loneliness in daily mood reports. Horowitz et al (1982) have argued that this is due to

depression having a wider, broader meaning than loneliness. Loneliness was argued to be restricted to interpersonal issues.

This is indeed the case with the causal model of loneliness which was defined using the LISREL IV analysis. The latent variable of 'Affect', which represent loneliness, was found to causally interact with 'Heuristic' which represents the main observed variable of relationship state. Relationship state was defined in the coding (Appendix 5) as discontentment in a relationship, as the following accounts indicate;

"Still feel alienated from friends" (512)

or when a particular relationship was missed or yearned for;

"Reflect on my relationship with other boyfriend - missing him" (912)

The related observed variables of Interpersonal evaluation, on the other hand, was defined by references to lost or stagnating friendships, or experiencing difficulty in initiating friendships. The association between this variable and that of 'social contact', since they shared similar coefficient values (influence), suggests that they might be related, and that the lack of social contact reflect lost or stagnating friendship.

Because the model was found not to show any time influence, what was recorded was transient, non-cyclical loneliness and negative evaluations. This is in line with reports by Schults & Moore (1984) which claim that;

' Although loneliness is a common experience, it is time bound and frequently transitory one '

This empirical study validates such a claim. In line with the finding that labels used to denote emotions are different to those used to denote moods, it could similarly be argued that transient and persistent loneliness are qualitatively different.

The limitation of this diary methodology, as argued in the previous section, is that it taps transient events and that issues like intentions and beliefs were left unrecorded. Perhaps persistent loneliness needs to be reported and explained with such intentions. Given that loneliness was unrelated to, interacting with specific people, or in specific events, but related to an evaluation of their 'involvement' in a particular situation, a methodology which does not look at intents in social interaction denies expression of such deficits.

The finding that participants reported indifference when interacting with people could be giving an indication of this underlying intent. Because the experience of loneliness was also found to be related to angry and defeated, transient loneliness seems to be related not only to a more defined negative evaluation, but also indicates their conduct within the relationship. If intents and conduct in social participation were unmet, how people explain this failure or how they change their intentions seem to be an important process in relationship development.

The following chapter attempts to look at persistent loneliness and to develop on this theme that an individual's intents and conduct with a relationship are significant indicators of how they react to the loss of the relationship.

4. CHAPTER FOUR : RETROSPECTION OF INTENSE LONELINESS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

4.2. DESIGN

4.3. PARTICIPANTS

4.4 RESULTS

4.5. INTERPRETATION

4.6. DISCUSSION

CHAPTER FOUR : Retrospective accounts of loneliness.

' Who knows what true loneliness is - not the conventional word but the naked terror? To the lonely themselves it wears a mask. The most miserable outcast hugs some memory or some illusion ' .
Joseph Conrad (1911).

4.1. Introduction.

Human beings are complex social beings. This statement becomes most apparent when people report the immense emotional upheaval caused by the severance or loss of their social networks. It is not surprising to find that major negative life events are related to such personal loss or disruption; the death of a child or a spouse, divorce, going to jail, suffering severe physical illness, and retirement are judged to be amongst the most negative of life experiences (eg Dohrenwend, et al, 1978). The literature on loneliness has similarly argued that during such human episodes, loneliness finds a particular role in expressing this loss (Weiss, 1973; Duvall, 1945). This is corroborated in the previous chapter where one of the strongest findings was that loneliness causally related to the disruption of relationships.

Since relationship loss is an intensely traumatic life event (Chiriboga, 1979), it follows that loneliness, as a reflection of this loss, can also be an intense experience. But, as found in the previous chapter, defining the causes of loneliness is a complex process, especially given the dynamics of relationships. Individuals within relationships hold different intentions for the relationship, conduct them in a variety of ways and might experience loss of the relationship which could manifest itself in a variety of ways.

Relationship loss therefore covers a diversity of issues and can be seen as a static frame of an historic, social and psychological process.

This introduction attempts to define issues within this diverse process which are important in determining how people react to the loss of relationships*.

Although early studies on loneliness, reviewed in chapter one, assumed that certain 'types' of people, namely the aged, were more likely to be lonely than others (see page 29) empirical studies have specified that it is those who have suffered the loss of an intimate attachment who are especially lonely (Lopata, 1973; Townsend, 1973; Revenson & Rubenstein, 1980).

It is not the absolute degree of isolation that generates the feeling of loneliness, but becoming isolated prior to a period of relatively high social engagement. In one pertinent study Lowenthal (1964) found that old people (aged 60 yrs or over) with a long history of social isolation, who had been 'loners' for some time, were less likely to express feelings of loneliness than those with higher levels of social participation. Lowenthal called this group 'alienated' to represent those people who had never developed very close relationships and appeared not to desire any. The other group was labelled 'defeated' to represent those who had tried and failed to establish enduring relationships. Although there are semantic problems with using the value laden concepts of 'alienated' and 'defeated', Lowenthal makes an important

* Throughout this chapter the term relationships is used to mean both specific single attachments and to large networks. The term friendship is meant to be synonymous with attachment (Weiss, 1982 p.77).

distinction for loneliness by emphasising that the intent of social participation is an important factor in determining how people feel when isolated.

It seems of some importance therefore to obtain information about people's intentions in developing relationships. Some of these intentions can be socially defined. Marriage is the ultimate presentation of a relationship as a single dyadic unit (Lacey, 1976; Wish et al, 1976). Since individuals are, in general, uncertain about the stability of even long-lasting friendships (Duck & Miell, 1981, 1982, cited in Duck, 1982) marriage provides a social contract which attempts to eradicate this perceived uncertainty. This can 'guarantee' stability of various sorts, from the emotional (eg to alleviate loneliness, isolation; Messamore, 1980) to the mechanical (eg to secure financial stability). The type of intent directly influences the conduct of the relationship and determines the type of loss experienced when the relationship dissolves (Duck, 1982; Chiriboga, 1979).

The intent forms the basis on which to judge the achieved level (or pattern) of social participation and reflects the conduct within the relationship (Sabatelli & Pearce, 1986). The conduct of a relationship when compared with the initial intent, determines the actual quality of the relationship. Coping with mismatches between the intent and conduct is an ongoing process within relationships.

Adjusting our aims is an important process in the development of relationships. Lonely individuals have been

reported to find such accommodation difficult, the review of the self-disclosure literature pointed out (see page 17). In one particular study, Solano, et.al. (1982), reported that lonely individuals are less likely to choose intimate topics when with opposite-sex partners than were non-lonely subjects. Because the intent of lonely individuals is to develop intimacy within relationships (Horowitz et al, 1982), failure to conduct the relationship appropriately means that the intent is not realised. In one pertinent study, Check, Perlman, & Malamuth (1985) found that lonely male subjects evaluate themselves more hostile than less lonely participants, suggesting that perhaps the high need for belonging (intent) interferes with the necessary gradual stages of relationship development (conduct).

This interplay between intent and conduct is the process of relationship development. During this process, knowledge is gained not only about the significant other/s in the relationship but also about ones own desires and expectations. This incremental development can however become disrupted and severed. It is the intent and conduct of a relationship which determine, to some extent, the reaction to this loss. If the intent behind a relationship is superficial, its loss might be perceived as less negative than if there existed long-term expectations. Similarly, If a relationship was conducted unsatisfactorily, its loss might be experienced as beneficial.

This scenario assumes that relationship loss is homogeneous. However, in the same way that there are differences in intent and conduct, there are differences in types of loss. For example, the type of the loss, how the

loss has been managed (or inflicted), could in itself be important for how the individual reacts. One of the main distinctions which comes out of the literature is whether the loss was or not expected (Glick, Weiss, Parkes, 1974). With expected loss, such as with terminally ill spouses, Lindemann as early as 1944, referred to the capacity to experience grief and come to terms with the loss before the loss has occurred. He called this process 'anticipatory grief'.

Although the syndrome of emotions associated with grief cannot be anticipated, there are processes which help the remaining partner to cope with the loss. Twenty eight percent of those widows who had forewarning discussed frankly with their spouse the prospect of his death, and a larger proportion of these (65%) moved towards remarrying after the death of their husband while none of those who did not anticipate the death of their husband did move towards remarrying (Glick, Weiss, Parkes, 1974). Coming to terms with what you feel by expressing feeling seems to detach the individual from the past and allow them to deal with the present. Miller (1986) succinctly draws out the importance of such affective expression in her studies with the development of neurosis with abused children;

" it is the repression, the splitting off of the feeling connected with the recollected content and denial by means of idealisation that causes neurosis " (p110)

In cases where individuals can determine whether or not their relationship should be terminated (through divorce), the decision is no simpler than the anticipation of loss of widows. In a study which looked at different types of non-marital friendships (different intent and conduct) Rose &

Serafica (1986) reported that different types of 'casual', 'close' or 'best' friendships had different types of dissolution. It seems that the intent and conduct within a relationship determines the reaction to the loss. Individuals not only seek causal answers, they also provide causal explanation as to why they do things (Weiner, 1958). During marital severance, even though there might exist little positive affection between a couple, this causal explanation for the dissolution of the relationship needs to be made obvious. Sometimes this process of social presentation can become a barrier, a hindrance for dissolving the relationship. In a sense, such barriers to dissolution are the reversal of the social role' accepted during the initial development of the relationship, except now this 'social glue' needs to be dissolved.

In one pertinent longitudinal study of 129 graduating university students, Lund (1986) tested whether relationship continuity could best be predicted by this 'barrier' model (ie 'social glue') or by the 'positive pull' model of relationships consisting of expressed love and rewards. Lund found that the 'barrier' model proved to be the most reliable in predicting relationship continuity, suggesting that the social expression of commitment is a more accurate indication of the couples' intentions than the private expression of love and rewards.

This social aspect of personal relationships has gained momentum with Levinger's (1979) idea of "barrier forces" (similar to the 'generalised beliefs' of Jaffe & Kanter, 1979). This concept involves a social element which

influences the willingness of the peer to dissolve the marriage once affection has declined;

"....in some cases couples stay married because they otherwise fear social sanctions, kinship pressures and so on. " (Levinger, 1979, p4).

'Barrier forces' are represented by a multitude of factors which act to keep the couple together irrespective of the affective unity between them. One of these barrier forces against dissolution is reported to be the fear of becoming emotionally isolated (Levinger, 1979). The existence of social barriers can best be reflected by the type of dissolution of a particular relationship. As Rasmussen & Ferraro (1979) have pointed out, these barrier forces are usually counter balanced by an escalation of existing marital problems (real or otherwise), in order to break both the emotional ties and to allow a more distinct social presentation. The authors found that problems such as adultery, alcohol abuse and financial difficulties were the most often cited reasons by divorced persons for their marital disruption.

One interesting artifact is that there seems to be a gender difference in the type of negative aspect of a relationship which is augmented and presented as a cause for the dissolution (Baxter, 1986). These processes of barrier breakdown often change the quality of the relationship by themselves. However, when such social barrier forces do not form the basis of the relationship in the first place, then such counter measures are not required for social presentation, thus making dissolution less of a negative experience.

Newcomb & Bentler (1980) found that premarital cohabitators report significantly greater happiness and adjustment after divorce than non-premarital cohabitators. What this seems to suggest is that cohabitators, because they did not need this 'social glue' did not need to escalate the negative aspects of their relationship to dissolve this barrier. But such nonconformism from cohabitators seems to reflect a general disregard for social conventions since they have been shown to have higher divorce rates, more conflicts of dependency, have a more sexually active friendship network, and have a lower life satisfaction in many areas when compared with non-cohabitators (Newcomb, 1986). Therefore, the general acceptance of social conventions as part of the conduct of a developing relationship, is important for when the relationship comes to be dissolved. It seems that all the social rituals which have helped the relationship to become more stable now need to be publicly broken.

The emotional aftermath of relationship severance or loss (through divorce, retirement, or bereavement) seems to be influenced by the intent and ritualistic conduct enacted by individuals within relationships. However there is an additional factor which seems to be important for how the individual reacts to the loss, and that is the type of loss itself.

Loss is not an absolute index but a psychological construction involving perception, and which, consciously or unconsciously, augments or minimises the loss. It is the interplay between intent, conduct and type of loss which is

argued to form the basis for this perception. Such an interplay needs to be dependent on continued reference to past episodes. Depending upon the intensity of such referrals any discrepancy between intent, conduct and type of loss intensifies the loss. For example, widows who experience illusion or a sense of the presence of their deceased partner report significantly more loneliness than those who do not report such illusions (Rees, 1970 cited in Parkes, 1972).

As with divorcees who continue their attachment with their ex-spouse, the constant recollection of past states increases the reports of loneliness because it increases the discrepancy between past states of happiness and the current state of desolation (Naughan, 1979). Hagestad & Smyer (1982) discuss the symbolic significance of objects in marital ceasings as a form of attachment to the past. Such reliving of the past presents an unfavourable reference from which to judge present relationships.

This attachment to the past determines how past intents, conduct and type of loss impinge upon the present. Loneliness in this sense is a discrepancy across time. This approach is not dissimilar to the philosophy of moral development whereby an awareness of motives and intentions mediates moral blame or innocence (J.S.Mill, republished 1973), except that the 'blame' is mediated by the individual.

In the literature, researchers have tended to create different 'types' of loneliness depending on the variety of possible causal circumstances. Weiss (1973), for example, distinguished between social and emotional loneliness in order

to differentiate loneliness which is caused by the loss of a specific person (eg. through divorce or bereavement), or as a result of the loss of a large network of friends (eg. through retirement). Subsequent researchers have also attempted similar distinctions for loneliness and the list is diverse; Frazao (1978) distinguished 3 types of loneliness; Kolbel (1960; in Jong-Gierveld & Raadschelders, 1982) 4 types; Sadler (1975) 5 types; Krebs (1974) 6 types; Belcher (1973) 8 types; Hoskisson (1963), 9 types.

The proposition in this study is that loneliness is homogenous but that its cause can cover variety of circumstances. The fact that loneliness cannot empirically be distinguished on Weiss's distinction of social and emotional isolation (see page 5; Russel, et al 1984) implores us to heed Jong-Giervelds (1982) concluding comment that;

" ..contrary to expectation, however, all of the types of loneliness in our topology appear to be forms of emotional loneliness. This issue should be a main topic for further research " (p 119).

One of the main objectives of this chapter is therefore to define groups of people who have lost a type of a relationship which differed in;

1. their initial intentions,
2. how they conducted this relationship and
3. the type of the loss.

Distinct differences in intent can be difficult to define. A salient theme in loneliness research has been whether the loss of a single attachment figure is similar to the loss of a large network of friends (eg Weiss, 1973). The widowed and divorced are a distinct sample in that their intent (through marriage) was for a specific relationship, and that the loss of the relationship reflects this specificity. Defining

another type of relationship loss, that of losing a large network of friends is however more difficult to pinpoint. Geographic relocation might result in a loss of a large network of friends but the relocation is a conscious decision which is perhaps associated with job promotion or change (Weiss, 1973).

Retirement might similarly result in the loss of work colleagues but the proximity of social friends should not be effected unless relocation is also undertaken. Even so, if relocation is undertaken after retirement, the relationship with the spouse and grandchildren normally cushions such social disruption (Moss & Schaefer, 1986). What was required therefore was a sample who have retired, have been relocated, and are not, nor are likely to, get married. Such a specific group could be provided by sampling from a pool of retired Roman Catholic priests who have been relocated to priests' homes. These two distinct groups, divorcees/widows and retired priests, encompass the extremities of intent, conduct and type of loss.

| | <u>INTENT</u> | <u>CONDUCT</u> | <u>TYPE OF LOSS</u> |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| <u>DIVORCEES</u> | specific dyadic relationship | more likely to be negative | ritualised, multi level stages of dissolution |
| <u>WIDOWED</u> | specific dyadic relationship | could be either negative or positive | could be ritualised or sudden death |
| <u>RETIRED PRIESTS</u> | general multiple relationships | more likely to be positive | could be sudden, gradual and/or ritualised |

This study presents some of the results of an open-ended interview methodology which looked at the reports by divorcees, widowed, and retired Roman Catholic priests about

their present loneliness and general beliefs about causes, past intents, present coping and future expectations. Although the interviews were necessarily open-ended, there were distinct questions covering the following interests.

1. Evaluation of Other
2. Evaluation of Self
3. Intent
4. Prior Conditions
5. Desolation
6. Fears
7. Loneliness

In conjunction with this interview a questionnaire was used to obtain a different indication of loneliness to enhance the self-reports provided in the interview. The questionnaire is described below.

The objectives of the present study are to relate the reports of loneliness to past events in the development and maintenance of particular friendships. This approach is designed to present more than just a static representation of loneliness but to place it within a historical process influenced by the intent, conduct and type of loss within a relationship.

4.2. Design

Loneliness questionnaires occupy two main approaches, those that look at loneliness as a global deficit and those that view the deficit as occupying different distinguishable areas. These types have been discussed in the introductory chapter (p 36). Since the samples to be employed differed markedly, a more extensive breakdown of relationship deficit was required which, by definition, only the multidimensional questionnaires could provide. Multidimensional measures are

represented by three questionnaires developed by Belcher (1973), de Jong-Gierveld (1978), and Schmidt & Sermat (1983). However only the Differential Loneliness Scale developed by Schmidt & Sermat (1983) was specifically developed to tap loneliness as a non-pathological experience. Although it is open to debate whether such an objective has been met (see p35), the DLS predominantly provides an indication of the intensity of loneliness rather than an elaboration of the subjective experience which will be defined by the interview. In practise, this questionnaire proved problematic. Widows and Divorcees mainly referred to the ambiguity of the term 'family' and whether it applies to their own family or to their parent's family. For priests the problem was one of etiquette.

The DLS contains eleven items which refer to romantic or sexual relationships. For retired Roman Catholic priests these items were considered inappropriate and were omitted from the questionnaire. Schmidt & Sermat (1983) suggest that non-participation in such social activities should be coded as reflecting higher loneliness. With this particular sample of retired Roman Catholic priests however nonparticipation is the expected norm. Therefore the scores on the DLS for retired priests have been adjusted as though these items were not part of the questionnaire ($100/49 * \text{totalscore} * 0.6$).

4.3. Participants

Recruiting people to talk about how they feel is a difficult and time consuming task. Asking people to talk about their loneliness proved to be an additional challenge.

Divorcees were initially approached for recruitment through the Gingerbread organisation, but after several attempts with organisations around the Bristol area, because no progress was achieved, a newly established organisation in Bristol was contacted. After an initial meeting with the committee members of the Bristol One Parent Project (affectionately known as BOPP), a proposal of the research was circulated and interested members got in touch with the researcher. Interviews were conducted at the interviewees' residence. Parallel with this approach, divorcees were also contacted through the university of Bath. These two approaches resulted in ten interviews with female divorcees.

For widows a similar approach was followed by contacting the general secretary at the Bristol CRUSE office, followed by meeting some of the members where the proposal was formally discussed. Interviews were carried out at the CRUSE office in Bristol. Parallel with this, five adverts were put in the local newspapers inviting participation from divorced or widowed men with children, but this proved non-productive. These approaches resulted in four interviews with widows.

For the sample of retired priests, contact was made with the Reverend Father responsible for the social welfare of retired priests who provided a list of names and addresses of retired priests in the Diocese of Arundel and Brighton. All the priests were sent a letter of introduction explaining the objective of the study and were invited to initiate contact in order to arrange for an interview. Apart from two interviews, all of the 15 interviews were conducted at the priests residences.

All the interviewees volunteered information with the knowledge that the main objective of the study was to look at loneliness. All the interviews (apart from two of the priests' interviews) were tape recorded. The interviews with the divorcees and widows were all transcribed, for the retired priests only salient comments from the tape recordings were transcribed.

4.4. Results and Sample Composition

TABLE 1 : AGGREGATE DATA for Divorcees and Widows N=14

| | AVERAGE AGE | YEARS MARRIED | YEARS SEPARATED/WIDOWED | LONELINESS SCORE ON THE DLS |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| MEAN | 35.75 | 13.10 | 2.23 | 23.79 (13.05) |
| STANDARD DEVIATION | 15.04 | 10.44 | 1.45 | 15.52 (11.63) |
| STANDARD ERROR | 4.02 | 2.79 | 0.39 | 16.11 (0.72) |

TABLE 2 : AGGREGATE DATA for retired Priests

N=15

| | AVERAGE AGE | IN PRIESTHOOD | YEARS RETIRED | LONELINESS SCORE ON THE DLS |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| MEAN | 76.79 | 48.96 | 3.5 | 10.07 (13.05) |
| STANDARD DEVIATION | 4.71 | 3.25 | 2.92 | 6.84 (11.63) |
| STANDARD ERROR | 4.89 | 3.74 | 3.08 | 7.12 (0.72) |

Because the information that was gathered by this methodology was of a qualitative nature, attempts at quantifying and statistically analysing these reports was inappropriate. As a result, in the present section, the results were interpreted with anecdotal references.

There are two possible methods of presentation. One method is to present a 'case study' format whereby reports from each individual are analysed separately as rendered by Glick, Weiss, & Parkes (1974) in their study of bereavement. However because this sample is constituted from very different populations and because there are distinct hypotheses about

the processes involved, it was decided that, the issues of intent, conduct and type of loss would be better interpreted with the use of anecdotes from more than one interviewee. This anecdotal evidence is hoped to represent both the varied causal explanations that people provide for their circumstances and at the same time the underlying similarities between individuals in the study.

TABLE 3 : Sample Composition. Divorcees (all female) LONELINESS SCORES IN BRACKETS

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| DIVORCEE 1 (DLS 19) | DIVORCEE 2 (DLS 18) | DIVORCEE 3 (DLS 10) |
| MARRIED 4 yrs | MARRIED 8 yrs | MARRIED 2 yrs |
| SEPARATED 3 yrs | SEPARATED 2 yrs | SEPARATED 2 yrs |
| DIVORCED 2 yrs | DIVORCED waiting | DIVORCED waiting |
| 1 CHILD | 6 CHILDREN | 1 CHILD |
| General incompatibility with husband | First marriage was reported to be violent from which she was left blind for an intermittent period of ten years. Last marriage dissolved as a result of gaining sight. | Domestic violence started after marriage which continued after the pregnancy. Still hiding from her husband. |
| DIVORCEE 4 (DLS 7) | DIVORCEE 5 (DLS 18) | DIVORCEE 6 (DLS 15) |
| MARRIED 5 yrs | MARRIED 16 yrs | MARRIED 7 yrs |
| SEPARATED 2 yrs | SEPARATED 1 yrs | SEPARATED 4 yrs |
| DIVORCED 2 yrs | DIVORCED 5 months | DIVORCED 3 yrs |
| 1 CHILD | 4 CHILDREN | 2 CHILDREN |
| Incompatibility aggravated with violence. Involvement in an other relationship was supportive. | Drinking by husband resulted in consistent violent attacks. | Mental cruelty, husband diagnosed schizophrenic. |
| DIVORCEE 7 (DLS 16) | DIVORCEE 8 (DLS 40) | DIVORCEE 9 (DLS 18) |
| MARRIED 9 yrs | MARRIED 20 yrs | MARRIED 3 yrs |
| SEPARATED 3 yrs | SEPARATED 5 months | SEPARATED 3 yrs |
| DIVORCED waiting | DIVORCED 5 yrs | DIVORCED not applied yet |
| 2 CHILDREN | 4 CHILDREN | 1 CHILD |
| Incompatibility aggravated with violence. | Extensive physical violence during marriage, fractured skull, torn hair, facial cigarette burns, broken fingers loss of speech. | Physical violence when husband drinks. Jealous over baby. Follows her wherever she goes. |
| DIVORCEE 10 (DLS 46) | | |
| MARRIED 18 yrs | | |
| SEPARATED 4 months | | |
| DIVORCED waiting | | |
| 1 CHILD | | |
| Husband in another relationship for the past eleven yrs, wants divorce to marry other woman. | | |

TABLE 4 : Sample Composition. Widows (all female)

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| WIDOW 1 (DLS 50) | WIDOW 2 (DLS 38) | WIDOW 3 (DLS 1) |
| MARRIED 14 yrs (second time) | MARRIED 42 yrs | MARRIED 15 yrs |
| WIDOWED 2 months (second time) | WIDOWED 3 yrs | WIDOWED 2 yrs |
| 1 CHILD | 1 CHILD | 2 CHILDREN |
| Second husband died of poliomyelitis the same cause of death as first husband. Illusion of presence. attempted suicide. | Husband died of emphysema three years after diagnosis. | Husband suffered from clinically diagnosed depression for twelve years. Shot himself in in the stomach. |
| WIDOW 4 (DLS 43) | | |
| MARRIED 20 yrs | | |
| WIDOWED 3 yrs | | |
| 2 CHILDREN | | |
| Husband died of pneumonia after ten days of 'flu' symptoms. | | |

TABLE 5 : Sample Composition. Retired Roman Catholic Priests (all male)

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <u>PRIEST 1</u> (DLS **) | <u>PRIEST 2</u> (DLS 15) | <u>PRIEST 3</u> (DLS 25) |
| AGE 85 yrs | AGE 75 yrs | AGE 77 yrs |
| RETIRED 10 yrs | RETIRED 2 yrs | RETIRED 2 yrs |
| Was retired by the bishop when the priest reached 75. Have been living in Priory looked after by nuns and volunteers. Frail. | Priest retired because of asthma and general poor health. Lives in flat with housekeeper. Congenial and expressive. | Compulsory retirement reached 75. Living in an other priest's house. Helps with saying mass. |
| <u>PRIEST 4</u> (DLS 15) | <u>PRIEST 5</u> (DLS 1) | <u>PRIEST 6</u> (DLS 2) |
| AGE 82 yrs | AGE 75 yrs | AGE 75 yrs |
| RETIRED 8 yrs | RETIRED 1 yrs | RETIRED yrs |
| Living in hospital run by nuns. Deaf false leg, poor eyesight. Has only ventured out of hospital three times. Lacks contact with people. | Living in a home run by the franciscan monks. Very active in church activities. Two of his brothers priests living close by frequent contact. | Living on his own in a house adjoining school. Celebrates mass everyday in a small room in the house. Health good. |
| <u>PRIEST 7</u> (DLS 12) | <u>PRIEST 8</u> (DLS 10) | <u>PRIEST 9</u> (DLS **) |
| AGE 70 yrs | AGE 75 yrs | AGE 84 yrs |
| RETIRED 2 yrs | RETIRED 2 yrs | RETIRED 8 yrs |
| Took voluntary retirement. Living in house on his own. Limited contact with church. Worried about becoming introspective. | Accepted early retirement because of bad health. Has close contact with relatives who live close. Has own house, lives alone. | Living in hospital run by nuns and volunteers. Sees very few people. Health poor. Reminisces. |
| <u>PRIEST 10</u> (DLS 5) | <u>PRIEST 11</u> (DLS 8) | <u>PRIEST 12</u> (DLS 29) |
| AGE 74 yrs | AGE 82 yrs | AGE 74 yrs |
| RETIRED 1 yrs | RETIRED 6 yrs | RETIRED 2 yrs |
| Took early retirement. Parish was becoming too much for one priest. Still celebrates mass in parish. | Father living with housekeeper in own house. Sees retirement as necessary because of social changes | Reason for retirement unclear. Living in house of other priest. Misses company. |
| <u>PRIEST 13</u> (DLS 4) | <u>PRIEST 14</u> (DLS 6) | <u>PRIEST 15</u> (DLS 8) |
| AGE 78 yrs | AGE 69 yrs | AGE 77 yrs |
| RETIRED 2 yrs | RETIRED 1 yrs | RETIRED 4 yrs |
| Anticipated ill health prompted retirement. Lives in as hospital priest. | Unwelcome retirement. Living in own flat. Trying to keep priesthood active but realising getting old. | General parish problems aggravated ill health. Living in own house with caretaker. |

** Differential Loneliness Scores not available.

4.5. Interpretation

The reports of loneliness by divorcees and widows were very similar in content. For the widows there was a slightly higher reported intensity of loneliness (the average DLS score for the widows was 33, against 20.1 for the divorcees but because of the low number of widows $n=4$, the standard error associated with this was too high (21.89) for this difference to be significant). Therefore there is not enough statistical certainty, in this study, to treat these two groups as different. More importantly treating the experience of divorce as similar to bereavement is reflected by references made during the interviews ;

KEY: Each code is followed by a code referring to D=DIVORCEES W=WIDOWS P=PRIESTS and then their number

" I'm hoping its (divorce) like the grieving process, you know, after eighteen months or something like that it would go.....the period between times (of loneliness) would get longer " (D4)

"....you feel that you have failed. I mean now when I am talking to somebody and I say to them 'well actually I'm divorced' they always say they're sorry to hear that. Its almost the same, treated the same as bereavement " (D6)

" Well I suppose the most common cause (of loneliness) will be someone dying and just leaving someone on their own. Well I suppose divorced people feel, I suppose, the same sort of feeling really.....I think it is worse than losing someone by death. I always thought that, you know, to lose someone to someone else I think must be worse..at least (for me) nobody else will ever have him " (W14)

However, the interviews with the retired priests proved to be of a different quality, and intensity. Retired Roman Catholic priests were found in this study to be less lonely than the divorcees/widows group ($t=2.05$, $df=27$, $p < 0.5$). Priests have generally reported that their loneliness is not as intense as they believe other peoples'. Two of the retired priests

specifically referred to the loneliness of widows as more intense in comparison;

" (Loneliness is a problem for priests) but no more of a problem than for say a widowed lady, for they lived with their husbands for say 30, 40 years perhaps, and lost them" (P9)

" Widows are lonely for their partners. Most of all its your generation that has passed that creates loneliness. " (P11)

Another apparent qualitative difference is that, with some welcome exceptions, talking to priests about how they feel involved a persistent question for elaboration on what they mean. With hindsight, this is perhaps not completely unexpected. Differences between male and female expression of feeling has been well documented (Dosser, Balswick & Halverson, 1986), however this study had an added complication because the conduct of being a priest differs emotionally from lay people. As one of the priests aptly reported;

" You don't communicate much as a priest with people outside the role of being a priest. It's difficult as a priest to talk about yourself. I go off to confession once a month. But the priesthood is lonely in that he's not able to pour out his soul to his parishioners, its one way traffic from his parishioners onto the priest. " (P5)

Divorce, bereavement, and retirement are life events with dramatic consequences on the individual across a variety of domains. This variety of personal circumstances, reactions and styles of self-disclosure present a mosaic of human nature. This section will argue that differences in loneliness between these two subgroups are due to having different intentions in social participation, different conduct of the particular role, and a different type of loss. But loneliness is only a part of the emotional reaction to

this loss. The repertoire of emotions experienced, as a result of this loss, involves a host of other negative, and less pronounced, positive emotions. In the preceding chapter (p 87), the MINISSA multidimensional schema of experienced emotions predicted that loneliness is more likely to be experienced alongside being depressed, sad, frustrated, defeated, angry, and loss of self confidence.

The HICLUS technique (p 66), similarly showed the association of loneliness and depression as being the closest between negative emotions, and also distinguished the separate cluster of disappointment, discouraged, nervous and confused.

Talking to people about their loneliness bore this interrelationship out. The following accounts give some indication of how difficult it would be to talk about loneliness as an exclusive phenomenon.

" I've got a horror of depression and loneliness. As such I've never given into it but there are times when you could be giving in and at times you think, 'I'll have another scotch' ..anyway...um...that can be a menace when you're on your own, especially when one likes a drink. You have to be careful. " (P10)

" Loneliness...is basically not having anyone to talk to ...I get frustrated in my mind for a good conversation, a good argument, a debate about something " (D8)

" I usually go to bed when I feel lonely(laugh) ..it is not usually, I read a lot but if I'm very lonely I usually go to bed and sleep. I think that I feel sad as well, often loneliness and sadness, often cry, which is something. " (D9)

" You can become self-enclosed. I try to make sure it doesn't happen but its' a tendency all the time. So I'm not really lonely because I make myself go out and see people. The longer you stay in a place when you are not totally involved in running the parish your friends move away, or die, so your circle of friends grows smaller as you get older. " (P3)

" You do feel you are on the shelf. You feel you've got to the end of your life and you haven't done anything. So you have a certain disappointment and you are bound to feel like this ...disappointed, frustrated. You're just waiting for the end so to speak. I think one does feel depressed. It goes away if I do something. " (P1)

" Well as I said, I wasn't lonely in the way of feeling lonely, and sort of, I didn't feel alone but I felt less lonely after I left (him), than I did before. In fact I was more depressed, and I have lost a sense of self-worth" (D1)

" After 50 years in the diocese...from the time he accepted my resignation I did feel rather depressed. I'm not a depressive type, but everybody gets depressed, for an hour or two, I suppose I perhaps...I've never had any long periods of it but perhaps....well..6 months before I was 75 and another 3 or 4 months before the new man (new parish priest) moved in. " (P15)

" Just occasionally I feel uhm....I want to get down to reading a bit now there's nothing I can do and that's a bit depressing. I have occasionally been very annoyed ..but I pull myself up afterwards..over trivialities. I get irritated with myself...I feel I'm fairly affable. " (P6)

" I think I must be pretty equitable but I have noticed that ..ehm..since I've been so much isolated all the time I do find now that I have to pull myself together a bitthat uhm...after going off for a nap in the afternoon ..what I never used to do..I do come up from there I do feel depressed...I do not know what it's due to. " (P4)

As expected, depression features as one of the most closely reported emotions with loneliness. It has to be understood therefore that focusing on loneliness also taps such related negative emotions. This interrelatedness is part of the affective experience and it is important that the cited accounts make reference to this flux.

That emotions tend to be experienced in a diffuse fashion reflect the general emotional upheaval of the current situation. It is not surprising, therefore, that there were

reports of uncertainty about how the experience of loss, as a whole, made them feel. Divorcees and widows, in particular, frequently referred to their accounts as 'the story' and reported that it keeps changing with their retelling of it. This seems to indicate that the process of loss involves changes in more than one area and could take many different perspectives as the following accounts bear witness;

" Well I didn't want to live with him anymore. And we had terrible arguments all the time. It's really difficult because you tend to rewrite history, and what I'd say now is not necessarily correct, and also, you tend to, kind of, convince yourself of certain things at the time that that's what it is, and afterwards you think it probably wasn't that at all " (D1)

" If he were to come back, as things were, as things were good between us, I think my loneliness would probably go. If he came back as he is now the loneliness would go but there will be other problems, change from being lonely to being fully occupied to what to say and what to do next, eh, and then of course the resentment, and you know the anger, coping with the children, coping with the verbal abuse and that sort of thing. It would not be worth it I'd rather be lonely occasionally I think" (D5)

The 'stories' have a potential for different meanings some of which are still being formulated in the light of learned experiences. Even the possibility of a new romantic relationship is evaluated on the amount of change that they, and those around them, would have to undergo. Realising the upheaval caused by the loss of a recent relationship, there exists an ambivalence towards future developments. What the interviews recorded is a time-specific picture from an ongoing and dynamic process, a process which has projections for the future;

" I think there is in the back of my mind, if I had any kind of serious relationship my life would be changed a great deal so would (my son's). I think (he) would find it a great intrusion so probably at the moment in time maybe I do not even want, although I feel that I would

like to have this relationship, its a weird life" (D4)

" I don't think I have thought about relationships at all. Oh sometimes you think that it would be nice for somebody to take me out for a change, now I thought perhaps no. I'm better on my own without any hassle, you know, without any emotional disturbances that might occur, perhaps I'm better on my own" (W4)

These reports indicate the difficulty experienced by the divorcees and widowed, in fulfilling their reported need for contact (Bowlby, 1973; Weiss, 1973) and gaining a sense of control and independence over their life. Striking a balance between what they feel they need and what they think they ought to do indicates the undergoing process of re-evaluation (Bohannon, 1970).

For the retired priests their lost role' cannot be regained as the divorcees and widows can through remarrying. Their paradox exists in trying to retain some of the 'utility'. In this respect, the subgroups differ in that the priests have not lost their role but its function, whereas for the divorcees and widows they lost their married role but they could still regain its function. Although all the three groups were, at the time of the interview, relatively isolated, they reported different intensities of loneliness.

This is best portrayed by the reported intent behind relationships. By becoming a priest there is prior acceptance that they are going to be separated from others. All the priests interviewed in this study reported that they were prepared for this isolation through the long apprenticeship period that they had to undergo. The following reports illustrate the priests' intent and acceptance of being 'separate' from society;

" (when I first decided to become a priest) you feel separated from people, you weren't actually engaged in the war effort. You feel excluded from the ordinary society ...but I am a priest now and you accept that you are different in some way. The priesthood is hard in many ways because you don't have someone to talk things over with all the time and share your worries. And now, as an older man, I think it would be nice to have someone to chat with but it isn't something that...that's ever worried me particularly at all. " (P12)

" We give up our family life and we know that. " (P15)

" I'm not good at mixing with people, but I feel a priest should be partly separate from the community....I'm not too keen on the idea of parishioners calling a priest by his christian nameI don't like all this restructuring" (P7)

" It has occurred to me that all my family were undemonstrative to me, I think really I am the same type...by comparison with some people I am very little emotional I should think. " (P4)

" We priests have had a life of loneliness all the time. The majority of priests live on their own all the time. " (P8)

" You see the kind of life we lead is a selfish life. You're living on your own...it comes quite a shock to find you have to think of other people when you're living in a family relationship. " (P2)

Although marriage similarly involves some degree of isolation this was not reported as part of the initial intention for the divorcees or widows. As networks have been reported to decrease as romantic relationships develop, it is very likely that marriage entails some degree of social isolation (Milardo, 1980; 1983; Surra, 1980). Especially for widows who anticipated the death of their husband, over half would be likely to have nursed their spouse prior to death, and for most, he would become their sole preoccupation (Glick, Weiss, & Parkes, 1974, p38). The way that this isolation was

reported during marriage suggests that isolation in marriage was difficult to come to terms with.

" I was particularly interested about doing this with you because I really wanted to say that I have been lonely as a single parent but it is nothing like the loneliness I used to have in marriage....because when you are married to someone....you expect not be lonely, when you are on your own you know that you are going to be lonely sometimes. " (D2)

" When I first got married, ehm, when my son was small, we lived in quite a lonely place and I was young and my husband was out to work for a lot of the time, from seven in the morning to sort-of half five in the evening and during the day I never saw anyone, I just had the baby like, and that was lonely, ehm...yes but at least I knew he was going to come home every night and there was something to get through the day for, you know, if I used to get fed-up, read, or something, or go for a walk, and think oh only a few hours and he'll be home and that would be it but now ehm.. I know there is nothing. I know he is not going to come home " (D6)

Unlike the reports of isolation by the priests, isolation featured as an unacceptable part of the conduct of the marriage. This dissimilarity reflect differences in personal intent which lie behind marriage and the priesthood. Although, both states confer positive social status, it is only in marriage that there is an added strong romantic element which seems to confound personal intent. This 'romantic element' does not prepare individuals for the reality of isolation in marriage and therefore isolation remains out of the scope of the individual's marital expectations. The effect of such social ideals can be represented by those interviewees who reported to have had socially derived and unrealistic expectations. These interviewees reported some of the highest loneliness;

" I always thought that I would marry someone who is very similar to me and he would be quite good looking and he would be a professional man, a lawyer or a doctor or something like that, and I would go out to work because he

would have so much money that I could sort-of afford a nanny.....Yes I was going to have everything, all planned." (D5)

"...maybe some of the things that I was expecting, knight in shining armour to come along and whisk me off on his white steed. Marriage isn't quite like that so.." (D1)

" I don't see a future with anybody else, even if I was lucky enough for prince charming to come up the steps at last, not now " (D10)

It is a though a dream has not matched the reality of the relationship. Because of this mismatch, some divorcees reported having to present a 'dual' face to the public and illustrates the importance and salience of the social context within marriage.

" Before all this I would say a fairly happy person outwardly, inwardly very unhappy and now it is just the unhappiness that is showing because its all at the surface everybody knows that (my husband) is gone whereas before I used to pretend that I was normal that my marriage is normal for all intents and purposes we were just a normal couple, so outwardly I tried to be happy " (D1)

" I'm relieved, that's true, that it has finally happened and I can be myself and that after all this time of pretending and staying together for the children and the money this is really what I want" (D8)

Alternatively, reporting personal intents which did not match with the conduct of the marriage was one way of explaining the loss not as a personal failure, as reported by the above interviewees, but as something which would have been expected with hindsight;

" I always thought I'll never get married....he supposedly really wanted children which is really why I married because he was insisting that we didn't have children outside marriage...I didn't want children so early....he just talked me into it " (D3)

" I was torn, there was always conflict because I wanted to get married , I did care for him but I didn't feel

there was enough of the right ...feeling " (D4)

" I always used to feel that this has all happened without me ever really wanting or without actually actively saying that, 'this is what I want to do', I sort of drifted into everything " (D7)

For priests, the idea of retirement reflect unexpected global changes within the church, similar to the unexpected isolation in marriage for widows and divorcees.

One of the most salient issues, for priests, was the abruptness of the retirement. Although their apprenticeship prepared them for isolation, it did not prepare them for this loss of utility. Their role' as priests, as the spiritual leaders of a community, expressing their loneliness was difficult, especially since this feeling is associated with personal failings (Glasser, 1972). It is perhaps because of this that accounts by the retired priests emphasised blame on changing circumstances;

" This business of having retired priests is a rather recent phenomena. When I was a young curate priests never retired " (P11)

" When we were students we were told we didn't retire unless through illness or mental incapacity or scandal or something...but normally you wouldn't retire and we were advised not to save money except for our next holiday and a lot of my generation probably did that, I certainly did." (P3)

" (the bishop) said that I must retire, just after I had convalesced in hospital and it was a bit of a shock. I wasn't prepared for such an abrupt change. " (P15)

" You're a write-off, it's (the parish) is too big for you, we'll find you something, meaning a flat or a house. At least in a way you expect it but you aren't prepared for it...my generation had grown up with the idea that you don't retire. " (P14)

The influence of intent, and how it seems to be confounded with socially presented ideals, seem to present a salient feature of peoples' explanation of the loss. Similar to allocating blame in moral reasoning, intentions and motives seem a salient feature of this process of grief. The experience of loneliness within this pattern, was described as being a physical feeling, as disruptive and as a feeling of nonexistence, by all the interviewees who reported loneliness (also Landefield, 1976). The reports here suggest that the feeling of loneliness is homogenous across different groups. The variation was in how this was loneliness was expressed.

In this context, loneliness was not reported exclusively as a deficit of a specific relationship (ie husband by divorcees/widows) or of a network of friends (ie parishioners by retired priests) but was referred to as an indicator of general deficits. It is as though the loss of the relationship took something away from their own identity. In this sense, the evaluation of loneliness represents lost personal meaning. The reports reproduced below give an indication of such differences between the three subgroups by presenting extreme examples of such explanations.

Apart from one widow, who reported that the conduct of her marriage was unsatisfactory (W3), the other three widows reported to have experienced happy, satisfying relationships with their husband. If the conduct of their marriage was good, developing a similar type of relationship seems unattainable for these widows. Re-marrying, therefore, does not even seem as an option. Their personal loss is being able

to cope on their own. Loneliness is reflected in their isolation from people who care.

" After they put the phone down I went next door, to this lady, and I knocked on her door and I said 'please, I am desperate, I'm so lonely, I must have someone to talk to, would you please come and have a cup of tea or coffee with me, if its only for half an hour', and do you know what her reply was?, which is unbelievable, she said Oh I'm busy watching Coronation Street now...and after that there is an another programme which I want to see, and I felt as though she slapped me across the face and, I said I'm sorry I troubled you and I went back in and I just fell on my bed, and just, and it just broke my heart " (W1)

For priests, it is their utility which reflects their personal loss. Given the current debate in the church on whether retired priests should be allowed to marry, most priests reported that this would not help their loss. Their problem is not isolation but loss of utility. The final expression of this loss is characteristically common for these interviewees;

" I've got the lord but sometimes I say I'm fed up with this life and isn't it time to go (die). " (P3)

" I look at life now as if its the preparation for the last examinations. You know what examinations are like, you never think you have done enough work. You hope you will pass with the mercy of the examiners. That is how I regard life now...so you know..this thing about priests being lonely is a problem of humankind. " (P6)

Divorcees seemed to be more heterogeneous as a group. In line with the argument being developed here, this reflects the differences in their reported intent, and the differences in their conduct of their relationship. The divorce procedures were also reported to be highly variable. This heterogeneity, is also reflected by uncertainty about how to fulfil their need for intimacy and yet not to lose their gained independence.

"...it is very difficult to be kept and at the same time feel that you are worth the same or that you don't have to sort of try and please the other person more than, you know you shouldn't push down what you want and suppress your desires in favour of the other person's, because all the time you are conscious that you are kept, somehow I think " (D9)

Even after an average of 3 years since this relationship disruption, most of the interviews still reported intense loneliness. It seems that this loneliness is related to the loss of personal meaning.

Therefore, although the grief or separation experience might subside, loneliness tends to persist. Weiss, (1973) reported similar accounts of loneliness persisting even though the anger, and guilt has diminished. This suggests that loneliness is related to, but separate from grief. Grief is the reaction to the loss, while loneliness is the experience of the loss. The loss of a friend might be reacted to with less anger and bitterness over time, but the void of their friendship is absolute. For priests, retirement seems to be accepted with less anger, but that feeling of having lost their function remains.

" There is no demand on me now...I think I've adjusted to it, um..especially this time of the year its much easier than in the winter, see....hardly anybody calls in the evening during winter time. " (P10)

" You miss the routine , I feel unemployed...shunted to a siding and you're like a steam engine that is forgotten. You've been part of a diocese, a community that needs you, you've been busy...You are no longer needed...your front door isn't being knocked on so much...suddenly its like being on a desert island. " (P6)

" I'm just a lodger. I do the things he (the new parish priest) wants me to do as far as I can, and I help (the priest that I am sharing the house with here). But there

is no responsibility there are no decisions. When the phone goes down there I know it is not for me...when the door bell goes I don't bother to answer it even though there's nobody else in the house. I let them get on with it...they do not want me anyway. " (P3)

" I've missed life in the church more than I've given the impression now...after retiring, gradually I realised how much pleasure I got out of my altar service because contrary to whatever I would have thought of myself I have no particular contact with youngsters. I got on with them very well indeed, and they with me so that....uhm..they almost got fed up to the neck with me. Now I've missed them more than I realised you know. " (P14)

" You've been spiritually trained...but here I have a small room and feel unwanted. " (P2)

" As you get old you feel you've missed out on relationships. A sense of loneliness is not being needed, there is nothing happening, no post (mail) to pick up. " (P17)

For divorcees and widows, the severity of their loss is reflected by their past conduct of their marital relationship. For the three widows and the one divorcee who reported that the relationship with their ex-spouse was good, it is significant that all reported illusion of presence of their ex-husband. Rees (1971) similarly suggested that this phenomenon was more likely to occur among those who had been happily married for a long time and who missed their spouse. Such continued presence, whether imagined or real, creates an attachment with the past and seems to restrict the development of current activities. Freud (1917) in his collected papers on 'Mourning and Melancholia' called this process 'work of mourning' whereby the bereaved person re-enacts the events leading up to the loss and focusing attention on the memories of the dead person.

Even if the presence of the ex-spouse was not directly reported, some divorcees and widows reported stable aspects of their surrounding which reminded them of their loss. Hagestad & Smyer (1982) talk about the symbolic significance of objects in marital ceasings, and it is this diffusion of the affect which indicates how permeated the bonding with the lost one was. Individuals who reported the highest loneliness not only gave reasons for loneliness which were more stable but they associated the experience of loneliness with more stable features of the environment, like the house, the car, and the furniture (Linville 1982). This is related to the illusion of presence of the deceased. The constant appraisal of a current situation on the basis of past episodes emerged as a salient factor in the pertinent explanations for the persistence of loneliness. This is borne out both with the widows/ divorcees and the retired priests, but as expected the episodes that are made salient differ.

" Well everything reminds me of...how lonely I am, the house, the furniture" (W2)

"..even when I get in the car I think..he taught me how to drive...he's not here. I do feel I'm alone sometimes when I'm driving" (W4)

" I still wake up and feel him next to me... as though he was there.... it is still fresh... as if he is still with me " (W1)

" Doing the christmas shopping, seeing shaving stuff, and it just reminds me of him. I think he is not here. I have an empty house to go to " (D10)

The contact that divorcees have with their ex-spouse is similar to such an illusion because it extends the period of grief and presents an unrealistic base from which to evaluate current involvement. Masheter & Harris (1986) discuss cases

where divorcees regained their platonic friendships with their ex-spouse. However in this study most of the divorcees wilfully necessitated a physical separation because then it allowed them to develop their life without past residue.

" You can't turn the clock back therefore you shouldn't feel guilty, because what is done is done, but then, deep down, there is still... (being) not charitable enough.. maybe I wasn't understanding enough " (D4)

" I felt somehow that he still impinged on my life, because he came round to see (his son)... I had to say a couple of times, he occasionally comes in and takes over, which I feel is quite wrong now " (D8)

For retired priests, the functional loss of their vocation is difficult to accept. Priests, as a result, report that they tend to limit their comparison with the past and thus decrease the awareness of discrepancy between past and current utility.

" ..the fact that you have got to die is not (frightening)...not to have one foot in the past and one foot in the future. It's the sacrament of the present moment...that's important, the here and now...living in this time. The theory is easy to state, it's putting it into practice...that is another matter " (P2)

" Should think as people tend to do, if you really, when you're younger you say of course it's because he's old, he's always thinking back to the past, and all that, but I am beginning to find that it's true a bit now as a matter of fact " (P3)

" If I'm honest I'll say I'm rather a sad figureI have to try not to live in the past all the time and when I meet younger people not to keep telling them what we used to do. " (P2)

These attachments with the past present an intensification of existing discrepancies. Loneliness is therefore an expression of a dynamic process of evaluation across time. In this sense, the desired level of relationship involvement was

defined by past intents, and conduct of the relationship. Persistent referral to such past states aggravates negative evaluation of the present state.

4.7. Discussion

Loss of attachments involve a general emotional reaction, loneliness forms a part of this reaction. However, what was unexpected was that irrelevant of the time which has elapsed since this personal disruption, reports of loneliness still persisted. It does seem that such persistence is reflecting a loss which will never be regained. Since the loss is perceived as permanent, loneliness is an indication that the grief has not alleviated the loss and that what has remained is the felt sense of not having.

For the divorcees, apart from two interviewees, all reported physical violence of varying degrees, during marriage. This was not expected. Citing violence as a reason for dissolving the marriage was believed to be mainly as a barrier breakdown (Levinger, 1979). Only two of the interviewees reported such a scenario however;

" I think this is why perhaps people find it difficult that (ex-husband) and I are divorced. I always thought about things like, I don't know, like adultery, or husband going out drinking every night or beating his wife up, those sort of things. Something tangible that you can actually see " (D1)

" My solicitor was really keen into getting some sort of something, to really, some hints of violence, and he had never been violent, and she kept saying, 'you must think of something to give it an extra push', and I said, 'well, he once threw a Teasmaid on the floor when I refused to go to bed with him' " (D6)

Unfortunately, some of the reports were not for legal convenience. Violence within marriage reflect gross

inequalities. Such inequalities are perhaps as much socio-political as psychological and the issues which this raises fall beyond the scope of this project. However, it should be stated that such inequalities effect the dissolution of the relationship adversely. The problem is that some women reported finding divorce very hard to carry out because of constant physical threats to themselves or to their children. Even if they mustered enough support behind them, and followed the divorce through, as some of these interviewees have done, consequent relationships have been shown not to be much different. In a current study, Deal & Wampler (1986) reported that violence in a previous relationships was the main predictor of violent experiences in current relationships. Such issues confound the experience of loneliness.

The findings from this study suggest that persistent loneliness reflects a loss of personal meaning. The exchange between socially projected ideals and the way that this affects the intents that people have when entering into a relationship came out as a salient feature in determining this process of loss. The evaluation of relationships, and the experience of their loss, is therefore determined within a social setting. Even for retired priests, who were used to a life of isolation, the loss of their utility is intertwined with their expectation they they never retire.

The persistence of loneliness throughout this process of loss suggest that loneliness is reflecting the experience of the void after the loss of the relationship. This is argued

to be different from the experience of grief which seems to be the reaction to this loss. Loneliness therefore seems to be a more accurate summation of the personal social value of the lost relationship.

5. CHAPTER FIVE : EPILOGUE

5.1. AN EVALUATION OF THE METHODS USED

5.2. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

5.3. THERAPEUTIC APPLICATIONS

5.4. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

CHAPTER FIVE : Epilogue

"What sets us against one another is not our aims - they all come to the same thing - but our methods, which are the fruit of our varied reasoning"

Saint-Exupery. Wind, Sand and Stars (1939)

5.1. AN EVALUATION OF THE METHODS USED

The information obtained about loneliness in this thesis has relied solely on language. As such the accounts of loneliness which form the basis for the theoretical arguments are already one step removed from the private experience. More importantly, the individual by communicating his or her loneliness has unwittingly dissipated some of the psychological aloneness characteristic of loneliness. As the following reports suggest, the studies acted as a catharsis, an outpouring of emotions;

From the Interviews.

" It is such a relief to be able to talk to somebody that understands. A feeling that here is somebody who cares, somebody who understands what I'm going through" (W1)

" Well I found it very difficult to talk to anyone that I knew very closely and I think talking to a stranger sometimes you are confessing and let all come out that you couldn't say to anyone close and although I have lots of friends..it was a closed book it was just impossible to bring the subject (of death) up and I sort of bottled it all inside me and got in such a state....." (W2)

From the Diaries.

"(feel) Dead - life is the cause. I cannot separate anything. All effects all. I have done nothing. I am feeling well, this is self-imposed, the culmination of the forces acting upon me for months. People (names) and all the lads are so happy and frivolous. Also events, exams fraught and failing myself. Mainly me, my lack of character, ability to persuade any of my worth ! end" (657)

"fed-up having to fight for everything, nothing comes easy" (846)

"The world is dying and I just sit here" (543)

"I'd like to end it so as not to have to face any such again - but I won't be able to bring myself to do that,

pathetic. I am sorry for all this. It is not what is required of me" (657)

"I poodle around in my own little world leaving chaos around" (843)

"My life is such a mess at the moment. I'm frightened that I might end up in the psychiatric hospital" (752)

It is not by mistake therefore that this thesis has been primarily concerned with the communication of loneliness since the methods which were followed already determined this emphasis.

Given this general understanding, the main failing of the studies reported here is the low number of people who participated, especially in the diary study. Associated with low numbers of participants are biases in the sample, high error scores, and a general lack of data to investigate issues of a special case (ie to distinguish subgroups of the lonely).

This problem is not atypical in social research in general. This fact does not however excuse it, but it does place this study in context of the style of 'non-questionnaire type' social research in general. Recruiting participants to talk about their loneliness is time consuming. It involves going through channels of bureaucracy and then asking individuals to confide in a total stranger, a psychologist, about what society still considers to be a personal failing.

This problem of communication was most acute with retired priests who were used more to hearing confession than to confessing to a lay person (p 115). It is not surprising therefore, that PhD's on loneliness using an interview methodology are few, and these use an appreciably lower number

of participants (eg Landefield, 1976 n=17; Frazao, 1978 n=5; Krulik, 1978 n=20).

Some of these problems were expected before initiating on interview studies, and the methodologies were designed with these sampling problems in mind. The issue of size of sample applies only to generalisations, but how can the following comment, made by a divorcee, lend itself to analytical or parametric considerations?

" you feel your heart is breaking, you feel a sort of heaviness in you heart, you feel you can't live from day to day, up until now I have just woken up every morning and I have cried and I have cried and I've asked god to take me. I still feel that I have nothing in life to offer " (D10)

However, the final question is that given these sampling problems, have these studies enriched our understanding of loneliness?

The following section criticises the methodology of some of the chapters, and goes on to present an affirmative answer to the above question by summarising and condensing the results in view of their criticisms.

The first study in chapter two was designed to generate beliefs held about lonely and non-lonely people. The scope of investigation could have been extended by;

- 1) not providing the participant with a description of the target person and,
- 2) to measure their score on a loneliness scale.

The first of these refinements would have meant that the belief about lonely and non-lonely people could not have been influenced by the description provided by the experimenter. The second refinement, that of measuring the participants current loneliness, would have enabled further analysis on

whether the type of beliefs about the lonely and non-lonely depends on how lonely the participants were at the time.

In chapter three, the main problems which emerged related to;

1. the size of the sample (which has already been discussed),
2. the high attrition rate and
3. the unexpected low reports of loneliness as a mood (5 times) and as an emotion (17 times).

With hindsight, apart from recruiting a larger sample, very little could be done to rectify these problems, in terms of methodological design or procedure. The recent introduction of 'time pagers' as a methodological tool to remind participants to record how they feel at a particular time, has met with a serious flaws. Brandstatter, et al (1980) reported that most of the participants switched their time-pagers off when they did not want to be interrupted. Larson (1979) similarly reported that pagers were switched off mainly when respondents were with other people, a time which might provide the most useful data for loneliness research. Also the idea of being paged to record your feelings might be received with some reserve unless there were pecuniary rewards to be gained, and providing such an incentive might adversely influence the objective of the study.

Given the limitation of time to recruit a much larger sample, the diary technique could have been elaborated more on a 'case study' approach in order to have exploited the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of the data.

This lack of quantitative data partly determined the complexity of the statistical analysis. Of primary concern is

the LISREL IV statistical package. Although this statistical technique is valid for distinguishing between different theoretical models, there are certain mathematical prerequisites which are difficult to adhere to in the methodology.

Because the model is based on correlations, although correlations do not imply causation (Guttman, 1977), proponents of LISREL argue that causation is reflected in correlations (Weeks, et al. 1980). This is not a statistical argument however, but one of methodology. Because LISREL has a prerequisite criterion that the errors from latent variables should not be correlated, the Weeks et al. (1980) paper which attempted to differentiate loneliness and depression using questionnaires which are known to correlate very highly, disregards this assumptions of the model (see Appendix 5). The lesson to learned is that the analysis cannot be divorced from the methodology. The use of sophisticated analysis on data obtained by crude methodologies, obfuscates the meaning of the results rather than elucidates underlying structure.

In the application of this analysis in chapter three, the problem was that of representing qualitative data through correlation matrices. Retrospectively, such longitudinal statistical analysis seems unnecessary, and should be used in comparing finely defined theoretical propositions rather than as an exploratory tool. Notwithstanding this argument, the longitudinal study presented an indication of uncharted territory and as such the pitfalls present as much valid results as the significant findings.

With hindsight, large data sets which have just recently become available, and currently working on (eg Youthscan project, and the National Child Development Survey) could perhaps be more suited to such general questions, than a research project of this size could ever hope to answer.

None of these sample problems seemed to apply for the interviews. Twenty eight interviews tapping different lost relationships, provided enough qualitative material to meet the objective of the fourth chapter. The criticism of this study applies to the methodology in general, and was introduced in the interpretation section of chapter four. This criticism relates to the validity of a single interview methodology when it is well documented, and reported by the interviewees themselves, that recalling past events is an active process and involves changes. Ideally two set of interviews should have been obtained across time. This would provide the type of data which would allow an investigation of how consistent the causal accounts of loneliness are, and if there are changes, to investigate why these particular changes were made.

As with all these methodological refinements, the constraints of time limits their execution. The final criterion should however be that, given these methodological and statistical limitation, what knowledge has been gained about loneliness?

5.2. General Conclusions

Loneliness is a socio-psychological phenomenon. Our ultimate aim was to understand how and why people report loneliness. Three main results have developed from this objective.

The first was related to what people mean by the label of loneliness and involved asking participants to write down questions that they would like to ask a lonely or non-lonely person. The conclusion was that what is important when evaluating someone as lonely was how they report feeling, this is before causes or behaviours. This was introduced as 'affective tautology', understanding an emotion by its association with other emotions, this study was elaborated to graphically representing this network. The finding that the Internal/External dimension was not significant in distinguishing between the lonely and the non-lonely, suggests that incorporating a control group (non-lonely) within the methodology diminishes the effect of internality for loneliness.

Getting a social consensus of emotion labels was facilitated by the use of a Multidimensional scaling technique which represented the relatedness of emotion labels in a graphic format. By asking participants to arrange a set of 47 emotion labels into groups of similarity, resulted in a pattern of emotion labels where the distance between each element represented the judged semantic relationship between emotion labels. From this analysis, loneliness emerged as related to depression, helpless, confuse, nervous, and loss of

self-confidence. Therefore it was argued that loneliness derives part of its meaning from these related emotions with the hierarchical analysis defining depression as the most important of these judged associations.

Comparing this with the pattern of experienced emotions proved to be an innovative second main result. Although the two schemas of judged and experienced emotions were similar, the label of nervous was not related to the experience of loneliness, while the emotions of 'angry' and 'defeated' gained close association. This was argued to reflect the fact that loneliness is experienced within a context which has definite meaning.

The idea that the context influences the meaning of emotions was further developed when three labels were looked at which seemed to have changed from being judged as positive to being experienced as negative and two labels which changed vice versa. In these cases the context determined the meaning of the emotion label. In a typical example guilty was reported to have been experienced as positive because the activity being performed was pleasurable but illicit. Therefore although the emotion itself is negative its context might be positive.

Investigating the social contexts for loneliness was however limited by the diary methodology because the diaries only tapped transient events. As the causal model validated, the type of loneliness recorded in the diaries was of a transitory, non-cyclical nature. Such feedback is a normal part of the ongoing process of self-evaluation, but this methodology underestimated the effect of intent on how

individuals react to their current situation. Although references were made about the existence of these intents, the data was not sufficiently elaborate to enable such progressive investigation. The interview study in the final of empirical chapter specifically looked at these intents, and conduct within relationships and provided the third main result.

In agreement with the previous MDS studies, the interviewees similarly reported that the feeling of loneliness is reported as part of a group of emotions. However, with this caveat in mind, looking at the loneliness of widows, divorcees, and retired Roman Catholic priests proved to suggest that intents in social participation influences the reaction to becoming isolated. Particular emphasis was placed on the dynamics involved in such social participation, and that reporting loneliness is related with the meaning of what was lost. It was concluded that although loneliness is part of grief, it is separate. Grief was defined as the reaction to the loss whereas loneliness was defined as the experience of the loss. Since the loss is permanent, how people perceive the loss is of importance in alleviating the loneliness.

Loneliness is not simply a 'frame of mind'. Loneliness is an expression of felt loss. The aim of the empirical studies presented here was to elucidate on the condition which result in the reporting of loneliness and to associate loneliness within particular contexts. Loneliness is, after all, an expression of a whole history of events.

5.3. Therapeutic Applications

Given this knowledge, which has been gained on loneliness in the present study, there is some indication of what constitutes a better way of coping with loneliness. The area of therapy resides within a highly polarised value system of 'good' and 'bad' which this section will try not to mirror. Because individuals know what labels mean, why they report being lonely is important. As one of the divorcees reported;

" I used to think that as soon as they say that you are depressed or a bit not quite right, the pressure is off because you can do what you want then and its OK. Because there is no pressure on me, no pressure at all, great do some weird things then, it was great, I could do it because I was 'crazy', I was a bit 'funny' " (D7)

Since loneliness has been found to be referring to a whole history of events, such reports as reproduced above, steer us away from simplistic advice. The problem lies not with the feeling of loneliness itself, but its effect on the continuing development of the individual. The process of 'transference' seems to be an important indicator of how much the lost relationship is still yearned for, and there are suggestion that limiting the affect of emotions is one of the steps to curtail their harmful affects (Linville, 1982). However, Linville does not provide clues as to how this process could be achieved.

Throughout this study, it was participants who provided all the direction, and it seems that they are perhaps in the best position to offer such advice. Apart from such issues as having very little money (for divorcees and widows alike) and of the abruptness of the retirement (for priests), all the participants agreed that all therapy must begin with the self, nobody else can alleviate your loneliness.

As Kubistant (1977) has argued, there must not only be an awareness of the need to change but there must also be a will to want to change. This is perhaps why efficacy of 'therapies' in general has been debatable (Shaul, 1981), the 'therapy' must come from within and not imposed from outside. This section will elaborate on three distinct ways of coping, which emerged from talking to people about their own loneliness. These three areas relate to;

- i. becoming aware that the experience of loneliness is not unique to the individual,
- ii. that loneliness is a learning experience, and
- iii. what you feel is not necessarily your fault.

1. Not alone.

As one divorcee reported, coping with loneliness for her involved perceiving it as a natural process, as a necessary stage in the grieving process;

"...more as a human condition, so I accept it more, I am not the only one, and that is really an awful lot of help, you know, that its not because I'm peculiar, or freak or something that I just happen to be going through that phase of humanity" (D1)

This is not something which is taught, but needs to be learned. Priests in this sense have learned this through their contact with those who have been bereaved, and their general religious belief.

" Everybody is lonely..nobody knows you like yourself or as God knows you. " (P3)

" Life is a vale of tears, it really is, everybody has their are ups and downs. Most people have suffered in their life. I think you're making a mountain out of a mole hill quite frankly...all people are lonely. Number One, there's your own particular personal loneliness I doubt if they ever reveal even to their closest partner ...some may but very few, this is what I would call internal loneliness. Then there is the external loneliness, when we lose our loved ones...and we're losing them all our life aren't we? But there is a

spiritual something that makes you stand up to it. I think perhaps lay people suffer more than us, because we have our belief. " (P14)

Divorcees and widows refer to such organisations as BOPP or CRUSE as important in providing this exchange of feelings, and many have reported that once they realised that they were not on their own, and what they were feeling was not abnormal, they found that they could open up and talk about what they felt. Expressing feelings is a catharsis. Feelings must be worked out if they are to be dissipated. This, on its own, rather than making the experience less personal, seems to allowed the interviewees to experience grief without being anxious about it. Loneliness is an expression of real loss, defining what the loss is, forms a part of the learning process about oneself and their personal relationships.

2. Learning Experience.

As chapter three claimed (p 96), emotions are a catalyst for change by making deficits apparent. As two divorcees reported;

" I have learned a tremendous amount about myself andI do not think it is a bad emotion (loneliness) to actually experience because I think it helps to get things into perspective " (D6)

" ..retrospectively, maybe it was necessary, maybe I needed a rest to completely, sort-of, lull " (D1)

Loneliness reflects the loss of a meaningful social state. The negative affect reflects the positive state of the past relationship. Realising that it is necessary to experience loneliness after the loss of a meaningful relationship will help in developing current intents and future relationships.

3. Not your fault.

One of the least enjoyable emotions reported by divorcees and widows was guilt. Even for widows who anticipated the death of their spouse, and nursed him till his death, guilt featured as the main negative emotion in the process of grief. The reports from the interviews did not elucidate this very much, except one divorcee who explicitly reported that guilt was related to blaming oneself;

"I've felt guilty because I have failed. I've failed to do, to make something work or to do what we should do, and I felt guilty because I felt that I must be a bad person to want more " (D9)

Loneliness forms part of this failure. The MDS of the experienced pattern of emotions showed the proximity of the emotion of defeated and angry with loneliness. Because defeated is such a persistent and disabling emotion (Gouaux, 1971), loneliness needs to be understood as a natural and necessary emotion.

5.4. Directions for future work

Empirical work seems to create more questions than answers. This last section of the epilogue will be concerned with just two of these questions.

One area concerns the need for a more in-depth study of what 'anticipatory grief' involves (Landefield, 1976). The term 'grief' is meant to refer in this case to loss from both divorce and bereavement. Longitudinal studies which record the development of how individuals explain and anticipate the loss of their spouse will point out beneficial strategies that people follow in order to alleviate the impact of loss. This

type of methodology could be applied to the study of couples with a terminally ill spouse, or to divorcing couples. For example, there seems to be very little work done on how the development of the divorce process affects the individual. Looking at the end result of this process exposes a schism in the interview methodology because it ignores the fact that how the person feels is itself part of an affective history.

The second area that seems to lack empirical work is longitudinal studies of positive emotions. Looking at how people cope with positive emotions, and how they perhaps maintain such states could re-address the interest in negative emotions. This could involve a longitudinal methodology which recording (couples's) thoughts and feeling in the course of developing relationships. Work in this genre has started to emerge (eg Lund, 1986) but the case for longitudinal studies cannot, it seems, be overstated. Since loneliness has been shown to involve an interweaving of developing issues, the tools to record this must be just as complex.

; CODING INSTRUCTIONS

The two judges were supplied with a typed randomised list of these 740 questions with a scoring sheet and the instruction reproduced below. These instructions were related to the four criteria on which each question was coded and together with the consequent discussions and trial sessions formed the basis for coding the questions.

There are 42 pages in each booklet, with around 17 questions on each page. The questions are in a randomised order and have no underlying pattern. The questions have been generated by a number of students to try and test whether a person belongs to one or another trait category. What you are asked to do is to judge the questions on each of the four different criteria set below. Try and use the same basis for each of the criteria throughout. If you come against any ambiguity mark an asterisk "*" and go to the next question. Please try to judge all the questions in the booklet.

Below each question there are four open boxes which are designed to accommodate the required code for each of the four criteria (please see the yellow marker supplied). The first box was to record the code on the first criterion, the second for the second criterion, etc.

First criterion

The first criterion is designed to determine whether the question is biased or not. Biased questions are those that have already assumed that the target person possesses one trait and does not allow an answer indicative of the other trait. Where the answer could not differentiate between different types of people, and where you could predict the type of answer very easily, mark these as biased questions. Typically these are of the sort;

What do you feel when you are lonely ?

(Biased for lonely type answers)

How would you live-up a party?

(Biased for non- lonely type answers)

If you believe that a question is biased then put a "B" in the first box. If you think that the question set does not conform to the above criteria, that is, questions which are Open and which could be used to differentiate people's characters, then place an "O" for Open in the first box. Typical open question are ;

How many times a week do you go out ?

Do you believe you have many friends ?

Second criterion.

The second criterion establishes whether the question attempts to elicit a psychological or activity answer, or a mixture of both.

To make the scoring easier, it is recommended that you circle the main verb/s in the question and use this as the basis for the analysis. Questions directly concerned with

psychological states are related mainly to traits/feelings and are not open to answers which give a behavioural (activity) response. These type of questions must be purely directed at psychological states which take the form ;

Do you find it hard to talk to people ?

Are you a shy person ?

Do you believe that people are against you ?

for which a "P" should be assigned for Psychological questions.

Activities is where the question is only concerned with observable behaviour. It is not concerned with the way that a person INTERPRETES events (ie Psychological) but actual occurrences. If the answer asked for is of a quantitative nature then the question is usually related to activities. Typical activities questions ;

How often do you go to parties ?

How many friends do you have ?

Are you amongst people at work ?

When the question cannot be designated as either Psychological nor Activity record it as a Mixture. These type of questions usually involve an investigation of both the psychological makeup and the person's activities, for example ;

What main things have you achieved in life ?

Are you fun to be with, good company ?

Third criterion.

The third criterion is applied to distinguish whether the question is searching for an Internal personal explanation, External circumstantial reason, or a Combination of both.

Internal questions seek to explore whether the particular state of the target person is caused by a habitual state of being, attitude, self-perception/description, egoism, ideal (of self and others), and perception of other people. Typical Internal questions are ;

Would you describe yourself as shy ?

Do you reject others because they are inferior ?

Is your fulfillment egoistically based ?

External questions are those that are directed at looking for something which exists outside of the individual which might have caused this state. Usually this means that the person has little control over its occurrence or where the question is searching for an immediate behavioural differentiation. Typical external questions are;

To how many clubs/societies do you belong ?

Do you spend much time on your own ?

Do you consider it important to keep in touch with people?

Combination is for those type of questions which do not fit easily into any of the other two categories. Typical Combination questions ;

Is there any reason others would reject you ?

Would you like to spend more time alone ?

Fourth criterion.

This section is concerned with whether the questions set are Specific or General. Specific questions are

looking for very narrow reasons for the target person's trait profile, which cannot be broken down easily. Typical Specific questions are;

Do you feel paranoid ?

What would be your ideal friend ?

What type of parties do you like ?

General questions are often open-ended and are searching for a global image or activities of the person and do not constitute a specific concept. Typical General questions are ;

Are you a member of any societies?

Do you feel intimidated by others ?

Do you get on well with others ?

This last criterion is designed to differentiate between those questions which are looking at either a large aspect or a very specific aspect of a person's life.

XX

Remember that if you are not certain whether to designate the question using any of the above criteria place an asterisk in the appropriate box.

DEFINITIONS OF A LONELY TARGET

PERSON.

(key phrases)

* someone who is dissatisfied
 * fears relationships with others
 attempting to be perfect
 seeking perfection in others
 * feels others will reject him/her
 idea of ideal friends
 others not bring up to scratch
 * feels insecure and inadequate in a social situation
 * insensitive to what people say
 misinterpreting the conversation
 withdrawing into themselves
 becoming less accessible
 * does not feel wanted
 * does not feel a part of his/her peer group/social circle
 * quiet and introverted
 not courageous enough to make new friends
 could be a lively person with many friends
 would like a close friend
 have few friends
 are not usually married
 don't go out many times a week
 difficulty making friends
 take little interest in social activities
 avoid large gatherings
 * someone who mixes with others but does not feel at ease
 * does not enjoy his own company
 does not have the opportunity to socialise
 would like someone to share his/her personal activities
 finds it difficult to socialise and get on with people
 * feel inferior
 find it hard to talk to people
 * feel they have no friends
 isolated.
 * feels that they need more friendship / love
 introversion
 extroversion
 may not admit the fact of loneliness to themselves
 * feel a sense of emptiness
 need for friends
 need to express their thoughts and emotions
 lack confidence to develop friendships
 * feelings of inadequacy
 belong to a minority group
 * feel at a disadvantage to others
 experienced a move from those to whom they are close
 elderly
 unused to living on their own
 have developed no hobbies or interests
 * get no satisfaction, stimulation and enjoyment
 unsure of how to start a relationship
 lack confidence
 break in family connections
 shyness
 introverted nature
 work affect free time
 lethargy

atheism
 past experience of a broken close friendship
 loss of ability to form new friendships
 * feels unwanted
 * feels isolated and depressed
 become enclosed or shy
 begin to avoid other people's attention
 * feel like a "wet blanket".
 shy
 lacking in confidence
 timid
 reluctant to risk self-embarrassment
 has difficulty in making casual conversation
 * feel incapable of relating to and being close to people
 * finds inability to make friends depressing
 life seem empty
 * feels isolated
 have no close friends
 insecure at forming new friendships
 * feeling alienated
 introverted
 spends a lot of time thinking about his/ her life
 spend little time engaging in social behaviour
 lives mainly inwards
 pre-occupied with problems of sociability
 * become embarrassed very quickly
 experience difficulties communicating
 * feel isolated, unwanted
 * feel that nobody is particularly interested in them
 have no one to talk
 * feel nobody cares for them
 * feel alienated and estranged
 suffer from paranoia
 * feels unwanted
 tends to reject society
 * feel helpless and resigned to accepting fate
 friends will prove difficult to obtain
 * nervous in all social situations
 * finds it difficult to enjoy being in other people's company
 does not have many friends
 * feels he cannot adequately communicate with others
 * someone who feels they are missing out on the advantages of
 interaction with others
 * feels anxiety and depression from this
 someone who is either unable or incapable of socialising
 with other people
 * feeling inadequate

PERSON.

- † one who feels they are happy with their circle of friends
- † does not feel inadequate
- † is happy with their work and social standing
- † does not necessarily have to have a large group of friend
- † may be perfectly happy with one person
- † usually feels secure.
- † is as equally happy in his own company as he is in the company of others
- † keen interest in the activities of others
- † overcome any barriers of shyness
- † having easy social adjustment
- † has many friends
- † finds comfort and fulfillment in friends
- † doesn't feel particularly anxious about social activities
- † always has people to talk to and activities to engage in
- † feels content within themselves
- † feels at ease with other people
- † is open to letting people get close to him/her
- † being close to people
- † experiencing closeness as a source of joy
- † is not afraid to be alone
- † feels fulfilled in his/her life
- † someone who is satisfied in their social activities
- † feels they have genuine friends
- † feel they can rely on their friends
- † someone who is relaxed, contented, fulfilled and self-confident
- † experiences isolation and depression rarely
- † time is filled adequately and enjoyably
- † enjoys the company of others
- † has a sense of belonging and purpose with a wide range of social activities.
- † cheerful, friendly person
- † makes friends easily
- † enjoys being with friends
- † wide circle of friends
- † always has someone to turn to in times of need
- † can communicate and socialise
- † enjoys the company of his friends
- † has a fair number of close friends
- † has many interests
- † belonging to many clubs or groups
- † has a secure family background
- † fairly content with what they are doing
- † has an aim in life.
- † someone stable, balanced, self-sufficient
- † enjoys the company of others
- † finds communication easy
- † is not emotionally dependant on others for happiness
- † has interests/activities which bring him/ her in contact with others
- † is prepared to make an effort for other people.
- † has a mixture of some good, long-term friends and casual acquaintances
- † totally emotionally self-sufficient
- † has many interests.
- † has a lot of friends
- † gets on well with people
- † feel at ease in a group

- † feel as though they know their friends well
- † has little ambitions
- † is generally content just to enjoy the company of the people they know.
- † someone who is in the company of others for a majority of the time
- † does not mind being alone
- † belong to a certain social set-up.
- † has a "confidence" about himself
- † can be approached or approach other people
- † an open rather than a closed character
- † concerned not just about social life but has wider implications
- † has lots of friends
- † happy
- † contented in their work
- † has good neighbours
- † someone who has a steady relationship
- † is not depressed
- † doesn't mind his own company
- † a good social life
- † feel interested and relaxed
- † feel as if they fit in with their friends
- † feel popular
- † have stable emotional ties
- † find it easy to start new relationships
- † perceives himself as a contented
- † has friends and enjoys their company
- † does not feel lonely when alone
- † feels a part of the life of other people
- † describe themselves as having many friends
- † enjoys meeting new people
- † they are lively, cheerfull, and elated
- † may be ambitious
- † do not necessarily need a steady partner
- † are amiable and friendly
- † active organisers
- † feel contented
- † feeling of belonging
- † does not have a wish to spend some time on his own
- † does not find communication difficult.

APPENDIX 3; PREVIOUS EMPIRICAL ASSOCIATIONS WITH LONELINESS

DEFINITIONS OF A LONELY TARGET PERSON.
(key words for analysis)RESEARCHERS VALIDATING THESE DESCRIPTORS

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| someone who is dissatisfied | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| fears relationships with others | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| attempting to be perfect | Shostrom (1964;1966) |
| seeking perfection in others | Moore (1974) |
| feels others will reject him/her | Moore (1974) |
| idea of ideal friends | Young (1976) |
| others not bring up to scratch | Shostrom (1964;1966) |
| feels insecure and inadequate in a social situation | Moore (1974) |
| insensitive to what people say | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| misinterpreting the conversation | Gallup (1981) |
| withdrawing into themselves | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| becoming less accessible | |
| does not feel wanted | Klein (1975) |
| does not feel a part of his/her peer group/social circle | D'Abo (1972) |
| quiet and introverted | Hojat (1982) |
| not courageous enough to make new friends | Moore (1974) |
| could be a lively person with many friends | |
| would like a close friend | Weiss (1973) |
| have few friends | Hojat (1982) |
| are not usually married | Sermat (1978) |
| don't go out many times a week | Russell et al (1980) |
| difficulty making friends | Gallup (1981) |
| take little interest in social activities | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| avoid large gatherings | |
| someone who mixes with others but does not feel at ease | |
| does not enjoy his own company | |
| does not have the opportunity to socialise | MORI poll (1982) |
| would like someone to share his/her personal activities | Young (1976) |
| finds it difficult to socialise and get on with people | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| feel inferior | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| find it hard to talk to people | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| feel they have no friends | Chelune, Sultan & Williams (1980) |
| isolated. | Weiss (1973) |
| feels that they need more friendship / love | Young (1973) |
| introversion | Hojat (1982) |
| extroversion | Young (1981) |
| may not admit the fact of loneliness to themselves | de-Jong Gierveld & Aalberts (1980) |
| feel a sense of emptiness | Peplau & Perlman (1979) |
| need for friends | Weiss (1973) |
| need to express their thoughts and emotions | Moore (1974) |
| lack confidence to develop friendships | Moore (1974) |
| feelings of inadequacy | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| belong to a minority group | |
| feel at a disadvantage to others | |
| experienced a move from those to whom they are close | Lynch & Convey (1979) |
| elderly | Lopata (1969) |
| unused to living on their own | Barkas (1980) |
| have developed no hobbies or interests | |
| get no satisfaction, stimulation and enjoyment | |

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| unsure of how to start a relationship | Jones (1978) |
| lack confidence | |
| break in family connections | Lynch & Convey (1979) |
| shyness | Moore (1974) |
| introverted nature | Hojat (1982) |
| work affect free time | Solano, Batten & Parish |
| lethargy | |
| atheism | |
| past experience of a broken close friendship | Lynch & Convey (1979) |
| loss of ability to form new friendships | Weiss (1973) |
| feels unwanted | Klein (1975) |
| feels isolated and depressed | Russell, Peplau & Fergusson, (1978) |
| become enclosed or shy | Cheek & Bush (1981) |
| begin to avoid other people's attention | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| feel like a "wet blanket". | |
| shy | Cheek & Bush (1981) |
| lacking in confidence | Gallup (1981) |
| timid | Moore (1974) |
| reluctant to risk self-embarrassment | Moore (1974) |
| has difficulty in making casual conversation | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| feel incapable of relating to and being close to people | Young (1981) |
| finds inability to make friends depressing | Weeks, Peplau & Bragg (1980) |
| life seem empty | Mijuskovic (1979) |
| feels isolated | Eisensohn (1980) |
| have no close friends | Chelune, Sultan & Williams (1980) |
| insecure at forming new friendships | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| feeling alienated | Diamant & Windholz (1981) |
| introverted | Hojat (1982) |
| spends a lot of time thinking about his/ her life | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| spend little time engaging in social behaviour | Hojat (1982) |
| lives mainly inwards | Goswick & Jones (1981) |
| pre-occupied with problems of sociability | Shostrom (1966) |
| become embarrassed very quickly | Moore (1974) |
| experience difficulties communicating | Sermat (1978) |
| feel isolated, unwanted | Klein (1975) |
| feel that nobody is particularly interested in them | Klein (1975) |
| have no one to talk | |
| feel nobody cares for them | Klein (1975) |
| feel alienated and estranged | Diamant & Windholz (1981) |
| suffer from paranoia | Diamant & Windholz (1981) |
| feels unwanted | Klein (1975) |
| tends to reject society | Moore (1974) |
| feel helpless and resigned to accepting fate | Moore (1974) |
| friends will prove difficult to obtain | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| nervous in all social situations | Ellison (1978) |
| finds it difficult to enjoy being in other people's company | |
| does not have many friends | Jones (1981) |
| feels he cannot adequately communicate with others | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| someone who feels they are missing out on the advantages of interaction with others | |
| feels anxiety and depression from this | Russell, Peplau & Ferguson (1978) |
| someone who is either unable or incapable of socialising with other people | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |
| feeling inadequate | Horowitz & deSales French (1979) |

APPENDIX 4; DIARY FORMATS. CHECKLIST - CHP 3

CHECKLIST

This checklist is designed to investigate the relation between the activities performed during the course of the day, and the way this affected the way you felt and reacted.

The checklist should be filled-in at the end of the day for the seven days of the trial. There are five trials during the course of this academic year.

The checklist is in two parts, part A and part B. Before starting each checklist you are asked to provide a pseudonym in the box at the top left-hand corner of part A. One way of doing this would be to write down the day and month of your birthday (eg 0812) for each checklist. This allows the checklists to be organised for each individual without your identity being made known. Your anonymity is crucial, and all information will be treated in the strictest of confidence.

CONTENTS

1. Set of Instructions
2. Seven Envelopes
3. Checklist, part A and part B

Mario Garrett
University of Bath
3 EAST room 4.34
1983 / 4

INSTRUCTIONS Part A

Part A is concerned with ten areas of activities ; Socialising , Friends , Attitude , Residence , Family , Income , Hobbies / Sports , Religion , Education , and Other. What you are asked to do is to record the types of activities which you have engaged in during the day, and to insert this in the appropriate section. For example, lets assume that you have had a problem sorting out your grant cheque, this should go in the section labelled INCOME, with the duration of this activity in hours (or fractions of). So the section would look something like this ;

ACTIVITY WHAT TYPE WITH WHOM EMOTION COPING / REACTION

| | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|--|--|--|
| INCOME | problem sorting | | | |
| | grant cheque | | | |
| | 2 hr | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

The activity ATTITUDE is concerned with those activities which resulted in a change of attitude while not really engaging in any activity ; eg., while walking to the bus stop.

The adjacent space requires you to note down the person or persons with whom you have had this interaction ; as in the example given here, the finance secretary. Next to this you are asked how this activity made you feel. To help you to do this more efficiently, instead of having to write down these emotions, what you do is to check how you felt against the list provided in the checklist, and all you need to note down is the number of those emotions ; eg if you felt Tired, exhausted (21) ; Frustrated (28) ; Angry (30) ; and Helpless, resigned (42), after engaging in this activity, than you simply place those numbers down in the emotion column ;

ACTIVITY WHAT TYPE WITH WHOM EMOTION COPING / REACTION

| | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------|--------|--|
| INCOME | problem sorting | finance | 21, 28 | |
| | grant cheque | secretary | 30, 42 | |
| | 2 hr | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

The last column is concerned with the way you reacted or coped with this situation. If, for example, the meeting with the finance secretary made you storm out in protest, note that down. But if there was no immediate reaction at the time, write down how that experience made you react during the course of the day, and write down as many reactions as you think were caused by the experience, for example ;

ACTIVITY WHAT TYPE WITH WHOM EMOTION COPING / REACTION

| | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------|-------|-----------------------------|
| INCOME | problem solving | finance | 21.28 | 1st mad when someone |
| | grant cheque | secretary | 30.42 | said students are scummers |
| | 5 hr | | | 2 felt muzzy all day |
| | | | | 3 wrote a letter to parents |
| | | | | |

Try to record all those activities which were important and distinct for that day. If not enough space is provided for noting down all the activities you believe to have been important, use the reverse side of the checklist in part A.

LIST OF EMOTIONS

1. Happy
2. Joyous, great, estatic, elated
3. Pleased
4. Good
5. Satisfied
6. Flattered
7. Successful, accomplishment
8. Relieved
9. Proud, positive self-image
10. Fun, feeling of enjoyment
11. Contented
12. Sense of well-being
13. Confident, encouraged
14. Worthwhile, accepted, useful
15. Cocky, smug, conceited, boastfull
16. Humble
17. Competent, capable
18. Grateful
19. Caring, loving
20. Surprised
21. Tired, exhausted
22. Nervous
23. Excited
24. Confused, bewildered, puzzled
25. Embarrassed, ashamed, stupid, dumb
26. Concerned
27. Disgusted
28. Frustrated
29. Sad, unhappy, low, bad
30. Angry
31. Depressed, dejected, despondent, despairing
32. Upset, shook-up
33. Guilty
34. Hurt
35. Resentful
36. Rejected
37. Scared, panicked, fearful
38. Disappointed
39. Jealous

LIST OF EMOTIONS ...cont

- 40. Defeated, feeling of failure
- 41. Lack/loss of self-confidence/self-worth
- 42. Helpless, resigned
- 43. Discouraged, deflated, dishearted
- 44. Disturbed, uneasy, apprehensive
- 45. Lonely, alienated
- 46. "No big deal"
- 47. Ambivalent, uncertain of how you feel

INSTRUCTIONS.....cont Part B

In the second part of the checklist part B, there are four dimensions and four questions with a space for comments at the end.

The dimensions involve having a line with two opposing adjectives at each end. For example the first one is GOOD to BAD, with a line going from one end to the other. What you are asked to do is to mark a cross (X) along the line, closer to the word that represents the way you feel. So, for example, if you feel really bad at the end of the day when you are filling in this checklist, then you would put the cross at the BAD end of this dimension ;

GOOD BAD



But if you feel neither good nor bad, then the cross should be put in the middle of the line ;

GOOD BAD



Follow this procedure for all the four dimensions.

The questions are concerned with the most prominent feeling at the end of the day, how you would have liked to have behaved in an ideal situation, and the way you would stop feeling this way in the near future.

The last question (Q4) tries to find how keeping this checklist today has affected you.

If you have any problem in filling this checklist please do not hesitate to come and see me, or drop me a note.

After completing each checklist for the day, put it in one of the envelopes provided and seal it. At the end of the trial you should end up with seven completed checklists in their separate envelopes. Post these envelopes through the school offices.

The days of the trials are shown below ;

| Calendar 1983 | | | | Calendar 1984 (Leap Year) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|
| January | February | March | April | January | February | March | April |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 |
| May | June | July | August | May | June | July | August |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 |
| September | October | November | December | September | October | November | December |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 |
| Easter Day: Apr 3 Wh. Sunday: May 22 Bank Holiday: May 7 and 8 Summer Bank Holiday: Aug 25 | | | | Easter Day: Apr 22 Wh. Sunday: June 10 Bank Holiday: May 7 and 28 Summer Bank Holiday: Aug 27 | | | |

You will be contacted via the pigeon holes at H & S S for the next trial.

Thank you for participating by filling in this checklist. To maintain anonymity, all the checklists can be collected with the analysis, at the end of this study (end of June). If there is any aspect of this research which you would like to discuss please do not hesitate to get in touch.

| ACTIVITY | WHAT TYPE | WITH WHOM | EMOTION | COPING / REACTION |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------------------|
| SOCIALISING | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| FRIENDS | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| ATTITUDE | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| RESIDENCE | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| FAMILY | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| INCOME | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| HOBBIES / SPORTS | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| RELIGION | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| EDUCATION | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| OTHER | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

DIMENSIONS

Mark a cross along each dimension to show how you are feeling at this moment in time. Do you feel

VERY GOOD

VERY BAD

PART OF A GROUP

LONELY

RELAXED

ANXIOUS

LOW SOCIAL CONTACT

HIGH SOCIAL CONTACT

QUESTIONS

Q1. What is the main emotion/s that you feel now, and which activity/ies do you think caused this ?

Q2. Given the way you feel now, how would you have liked to behave in any of the activities mentioned in part A ?

Q3. Assuming that this main emotion/s is an unwanted feeling, how would you prefer to behave in the near future to eliminate feeling this way ?

Q4. Did keeping this checklist today make you feel and think differently ?
How ?

COMMENTS

APPENDIX SIX; LISREL RATIONALE - CHP 3

: Coding frames

Most of the variables in the analysis were translated directly from the Checklist.

Three coding frames were developed for those derived variables which required a value- judgement imposed upon them.

1. The first coding frame was concerned with whether the activities were performed with others or alone and whether they were passive, improvised or organised activities was coded using these criteria.

With others passive (WOP) was applied to these activities which reported an effect of another person without any interaction taking place between this person. Therefore it signified those activities which involved another person by their presence only and in which the participant did not report any control over, or report any reciprocity with.

Typical with others passive activity were as follows;

"Boyfriend had an argument with flatmate - just cleaned my teeth" (415)

With others improvised (WOI) was designed to code those activities which involved another person and which was reported to have involved some reciprocity/interaction without having been an organised activity.

Typical with others improvised activities were as follows;

"Childrens' day off, nice to be with them" (735)

"Chat on astrology and sex - I provoked the discussion" (141)

"Helping friend with computer project" (635)

Most of the activities which involved other were categorised under this criteria.

Activities which were coded with others organised (WOA) must have been reported as being predetermined and involved either others or the participant organising this activity. Reference must have been made that the activity was expected. It was not important, while applying this criteria, who organised the activity as long as the activity was reported as being predetermined (not the outcome but the activity). Most of the references made in the Checklist about going to Lectures were coded under this criteria.

Typical with others organised activities were as follows;

"Went to lecture" (425)

"Went to seminar" (315)

The second main category was related to those activities performed alone and follow the same criterias as the activity with others group; ie passive, improvised, and organised.

Alone passive (AP) applied to those activities which reported that no activity has taken place or that the activity was not influenced by the participant. This criteria was used especially when the activity was initiated by someone else and which the participant had no influence over the activity (ie the activity not the reaction or effect from the activity).

Typical alone passive activity were ;

"did no work - still have an essay to hand in" (921)

"received letter from home made me look forward to getting back home" (223)

The second criterion was applied to alone improvised (AI) activity. This referred to those activities which were performed alone but which involved some control over the activity without the activity being reported to have been organised beforehand. These activities occupied the main body of activities carried out alone.

Typical alone improvised activities were as follows;

"Phoned parents and settled down in a good mood" (436)

"Cleaned the house thoroughly - felt like doing it so went mad" (826)

The last criterion refers to those activities which were performed alone and which involved some organisation (A0). These type of activities must have been initiated by the participant and must refer to some predetermined activity. Typical alone organised activity was as follows;
 "reading for essay in the library" (813)
 "Bought train ticket" (417)

2. The second coding frame was concerned with whether the emotion labels were positive, negative or neutral. This involved two independent psychology graduates evaluating the 50 emotion labels on the basis of whether they believe that each label refer to a good/ positive feeling, bad/ negative feeling, or whether it is neutral/ uncertain.

3. The third coding frame was concerned with;

- (1) The effect of the Checklist
- (2) Judging alternative coping
- (3) Interpersonal events
- (4) Relationship State
- (5) Evaluation of Self
- (6) Evaluation of Others
- (7) Future outlook
- (8) Physical problems
- (9) Inebriation

In most cases these categories did not apply for each Checklist. It is only when a DIRECT reference was made under each category that a reference was required. Under these circumstances, where there was no reference to any particular category the section was recorded with the missing value 9 (nine). The independent rater was instructed to work through each Checklist carefully and to remember that the emotions and activities were already coded and that repetition of this data would not be beneficial. The coding frame for each variable was as follows;

1. Checklist Effect Forgot/Positive/Negative/Augments.

This category was concerned with the effect that the Checklist had by itself. That the participants, simply by recording down their activities in this fashion reported a change in attitude or intensity.
 If the participants report that they forgot about the checklist or they kept forgetting about it, this was coded as 0 (zero)
 eg; "no forgot about it till midnight" (243)
 The frequency of such reference in individual Checklist was not recorded..

Positive effect were judged when there was a direct positive change in the mood or activity solely due to the checklist. It involved a direct effect of the Checklist (as an independent variable) and FROM NOTHING ELSE.
 eg; "Made me aware of the lack of work done and this made me work through the night " (931)
 Positive effects were coded as 1 (one)

Negative effects followed a similar criterion except that the resultant change was unwanted or unpleasant.
 eg; "a little towards the end of the evening I began to worry about having to fill this in when I got home, when all I want to do is get in bed " (733)
 Negative effects were coded as 2 (two).

The fourth criterion was applied when the effect was not DIRECTED by the

Checklist but simply enhanced and augmented the state that already existed.
 eg; "It just got me more anxious and frustrated knowing I had to fill it in at my most tired moment " (752)
 Notice the more which is what differentiated this comment from being judged as negative.
 Augmented effects were coded as 3 (three)

2. Alternative Coping Combination/ Active/ Passive/ Neutral

As part of the Checklist, participants were asked to note any alternative activities that they could have performed to alleviate their main negative emotion. Since in general the main emotion were positive this section was usually left blank. If any alternative coping was recorded (whatever the main emotion) this was judged under the follow criteria.

Active was applied when the participant reported that they wish/ought TO HAVE DONE something.

eg; " to talk to people more" (821)

Active judgements were coded as 1 (one)

Passive alternative coping was applied when the participants reported that they wish/ought to NOT HAVE DONE something.

eg; "I wish I hadn't screamed" (727).

Passive judgements were coded as 2 (two)

Neutral alternative coping was where a direct reference was made that NO OTHER coping exists or is required.

eg; "no other way" (612) ; "No different" (423)

Neutral judgements were coded as 3 (three).

When a number of these alternative coping were presented (minimum of two) than this was judged as Combination.

eg; "Given more attention (But would not make that much difference)....Not to have been so basic" (911).

Combinations of any of these if present in the Checklist were coded as 0 (zero)

3. Interpersonal Event New/Lost

For this category the responses for the whole Checklist needed to be read and comprehended by the rater for correct evaluation. This criterion wasn't applied when there was reference that the interpersonal event has been an ongoing activity or that the loss had already occurred in the past. Any such references were judged under the fourth category below. A relationship was defined as any tie or perceived romantic/intimate connection with another adult. This did not necessarily needed to be reciprocated (or reported to be).

New interpersonal event was applied when there was a reference that a new relationship has been embarked upon or when there was a revival of a lost friendship. The response had to report some novelty.

eg; "Decided I am attracted to a particular woman" (146)

But there did not need to be a sexual/physical connection.

eg; "visit from long-standing friend" (826)

New or Revived friendship were scored as 1 (one) in this category.

A Lost or stagnating friendship was applied when an ongoing relationship was reported to be terminating or just terminated

eg; "Might split with other boyfriend -big move" (916).

Or simply finding it hard to initiate a relationship.

eg "woman hunt failed"

These type of responses were coded as 2 (two).

4. Relationship State Content/Discontent/Miss

Relationship state is different from interpersonal event in that the participant reports the relationship or unit as already existing. This relationship must not necessarily have been reported as being romantic/marital/sexual but included friendship of a broader category. This criterion was designed to record the evaluation made about this relationship and was to occupy the middle ground with the third criterion of Interpersonal Event. This criterion was concerned with whether this relationship was in a state of contentment/discontentment/or missed.

Being contented in an existing relationship must have references to the positive aspects of the relationship.

eg; "Happy all day, because husband came home" (714).

This type of evaluation was coded as 1 (one)

Discontentment in a relationship was related mainly to friends (in the Checklists) and took the general form of

eg; "Still feel alienated from friends" (512).

This type of evaluation was coded as 2 (two).

The third category was a relationship which were missed, or a yearning for a relationship which cannot be enacted.

eg; "Reflect on my relationship with other boyfriend - missing him" (912)

This type of evaluation was coded as 3 (three).

5. Evaluation of Self positive/negative

This category was concerned with the general attitude that the participant had of him/herself. If a direct reference was made about the participant's self esteem/regard/evaluation than this category become effective.

Positive evaluation was when the participant referred to positive or endearing characteristics/traits (not emotion or moods) that he/she think they embody. Positive evaluation also included reported self-efficacy or known-ability to cope, and being benevolent.

eg "can cope with what I have (911).

This type of evaluation was coded as 1 (one)

Negative evaluation was when the participant viewed him/herself as having unwanted or unattractive characteristics.

eg; "What a jerk I've been acting like" (622).

This type of evaluation was coded as 2 (two).

6. Evaluation of Others positive/negative

Similar to the preceeding category this was concerned with those evaluations made about others, either singular (ie a specific person) or in general.

For positive evaluation of others, reference must have been made about attractive/pleasant aspects of the other.

eg "Proud, son standing singing - totally innocent" (815).

This type of evaluation was coded as 1 (one)

Negative evaluation of others is when derogatory reference was made about others.

eg; "feel alienated- stupid lot of tourists" (153).

This type of evaluation was coded as 2 (two).

7. Future Outlook Good/bleak/mixture

This category was designed to tap any reference made about the future relating to expectations, hopes, fears etc. Future was meant to cover anything which hasn't as yet happened, a rather broad meaning was therefore implied. Three broad criteria were designed for judging this category.

When reference was made about the future looking good/positive/light this was coded as positive.

eg; "looking forward to the end of term" (154).

This type of evaluation was coded as 1 (one).

Reference regarding the bleakness of the future, when they expect it to be bad/negative/hard was coded as negative.

eg; "I wonder how I shall cope tomorrow" (816).

This was coded as 2 (two)

If a mixture of these two types of evaluations were evident this category was coded as 3 (three).

8. Physical Problems yes

If any physical problem were reported by the participant this was coded as 1 (one).

eg; "I feel ill" (712).

9. Drink yes

If drink/inebriation had a causal affect on the activities or reported mood this was coded as 1 (one). Reporting having a drink was not valid in this category, the effect had to be mentioned.

eg "Forgot I was doing it (Checklist), too pissed" (811)

The inter-judge reliability are reported in section 3.3. of the Results.

APPENDIX SIX; LISREL RATIONALE - CHP 3

RATIONALE

Path Analysis

In the psychometric literature various models for the analysis of longitudinal data have been proposed. For example Joreskog (1970), Werts, Joreskog & Linn (1972), Coballis (1973), Schmidt & Wiley (1974), and Frederiksen (1974) have considered complex models which involve multiple measurements at several occasions. The main problems for social scientists in general with longitudinal data is the measuring error inherent in measuring abstract concepts and the high incidence of ordinal information. The analysis of Linear Structural Relationships by the Method of Maximum Likelihood (Joreskog & van Thillo 1973) seems to present a solution to these problems. Although other covariance models have been subsequently proposed such as BENWEE (Browne, 1982), COSAN (McDonald, 1978), EQS (Bentler) and LACCI (Muthen, 1983) LISREL is the most widely used general covariance structure model as reflected by its eminent introduction into the SPSSX batch of statistical programs in the near future. The program used in this analysis (because of its availability) was LISREL V which was on trial at SWURCC from ; International Educational Services 1525 East 53rd Street, Chicago, Illinois 60615.

The models are well introduced (Blalock, 1971, 1974; and Bentler, 1980 who reviewed the psychological and statistical literature on latent variable models) although statistical familiarity is required if only to understand the dynamics of the models. The structural equation model has two synonymous components, exploratory and confirmatory. It analyses a hypothetical model against the observed data (confirmatory) and provides indices of ill-fitment (exploratory). The program can initially handle raw data by computing the correlation, moment, or covariance matrixes from such data. LISREL does this through a series of correlation statistics for ordinal and interval data. Correlations between interval data are handled by the Pearson correlation (ρ) while correlations between ordinal variables (assuming that the variables have a bivariate normal distribution) is handled by a polychoric correlation coefficient. A special case of this is the tetrachoric correlation coefficient when both variables are dichotomous. Correlations between interval and ordinal variables are handled by the polyserial correlation coefficient. Raw data can therefore be transformed into correlation matrixes which form the input data base for the LISREL V analysis.

The end-result is a relational matrix which forms the basis for the computation of the LISREL model. Since in most measurement, there exists an inherent error (or noise in the data), the most convenient way of representing the data is through a latent variable which takes into account this measurement error. If two variables have been measured (say x and y) then these two observed variables can be represented by their respective latent variables (say ξ and η) these latent variables take into account the error factor of the observed variable (say δ and ϵ) for the x and y . What all this does is that it makes the model more complex by adding another significant facet into the model.

So the latent variables are obtained from the observed and the measurement error; $\xi = x + \delta$
latent variable = observed + measurement error.

But this assumes that the observed + measurement error has a direct effect on the latent variable which makes the need for modelling superfluous since the latent variables can be singularly expressed from the observed variables. But if, like in most psychological data there exist numerous observed variables which are argued to reflect one latent variable than the path between these variables (ie observed vs latent) assumes some importance for analysis, therefore;

latent variable = path. observed + measurement error.

using LISREL notations this can be mathematical translated to; $\xi = \lambda_x \cdot x^6$

This assumes that the latent variable is what we are interested in quantifying. However, of a more valid interest is the "true" observed variable's value. Similar to Factor analysis (and this part of the equation is confirmatory factor analysis) the observed variable is denoted with its factor loading since the observed variable is usually the only means of testing the latent variable and therefore the emphasis of change (or modification) is on the observed variable rather than on an abstract (ie latent) variable. Therefore the equation needs to be slightly transformed to allow significance to be placed on the "true" observable variable;

$$\underline{x} = \underline{\Lambda}_x \cdot \underline{\xi}^{\delta}$$

Notice that the latent variable $\underline{\xi}$ has acquired a structural importance whereby $\underline{\Lambda}$ is a vector (amplitude and direction obtained from the correlation matrix). Similarly the vector for \underline{y} has a related equation

$$\underline{y} = \underline{\Lambda}_y \cdot \underline{\eta}^e$$

These equations are simply factor analytic techniques of how the latent variables (ie General factor) are represented by the observed. What is of interest is the dynamic interaction of the paths. The paths between the observed and the latent variables have already been introduced ($\underline{\Lambda}_x \underline{\Lambda}_y$) but there are also the paths between the latent variables, and other related elements (eg error factors for the latent variables). This part of the analysis is based on multivariate regression analysis. On reflection, therefore, any element could have a path to other elements with a few exceptions;

$$\zeta \neq \xi, \epsilon, \delta$$

$$\epsilon \neq \eta, \delta, \zeta$$

$$\delta \neq \xi, \epsilon, \zeta$$

where ζ is the error for the η

it can easily be conceived how complex the paths could get. This is LISREL. It allows each path to be specified (ie identified) and defined through a series of parameter estimations. Its relation with other statistical methods is not that dissimilar although because of its greater capacity to transform data it is unfortunately complex. The relationship between the observed variables and the latent variables is a form of Factor analysis while the paths between the latent variables are computed through a series of multivariate regression. Add the complex facet of measurement errors and the model is designed to handle complex psychological data with all the measuring error problems that this entails.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS.

The models are judged by a series of indices (Joreskog & Sorbom 1981, pIII.8-III.17). Since all the models in this section were generated using the Unweighted Least Square Estimates (against the Maximum Likelihood which makes assumptions about the distribution of scores) three main indices will be referred to in judging the models. The first measure relates to a generalised measure of reliability for the whole measurement model which is the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI). The closer that the GFI is to 1 the better the overall fit of the model. This measure is to be judged together with the Root Mean Square Residual (RMSR) which can be read as an indicator of variance within the model (a crude comparison can be made with the Mean Square of the Analysis of Variance, although the RMSR in Lisrel V has a different computational formulae). The lower the RMSR the less the variance. From these two measures therefore what indicates a good fit is a high GFI and a low RMSR. The second type of measures which can be used to judge the fit of the data to the model is the residual variance and covariance matrix (SIGMA) since the data base was correlational, the normalized residuals were not required (used for covariance data bases). If these measures are less than two in magnitude that this indicates that the model account for the data (observed) sufficiently well. The third measure relate to the modification indices (MI). When a model has been judged not to fit the data adequately by any grounds previously considered, the MI presents the expected decrease of the χ^2 for each single parameter in the equation. These modification indices can therefore be examined in relation to Chi-square distribution with $df=1$.

Therefore once a model is evaluated, the GFI is compared with (an ideal) 1.0 and the RMSR compared with (an ideal) 0.0. If comparisons show a large discrepancy then the MI measures are used to indicate which parameter (or variable) to define as free (ie unconstrained). If the model still shows low GFI and high RMSR then consequent modifications are judged (on the basis of the MI measures) not to contribute substantially to the fitment than the model needs to be re-drawn. The analysis does not provide any guidelines for this, and since no theoretical model EXISTS for loneliness, this process was somewhat intuitive and rudimentary.

No modeling could be found for loneliness in previous LISREL applications to guide the framework of the model. Hence, the logistics of this procedure proved problematic in all facets of development. The main problem area was related to the software (LISREL V program) and the macro command system at SWURCC, which proved to be an unexpected challenge.

The allocation of macro space and time (space of 5,000 bytes with some of the batch runs - ie model estimation - requiring over 20,600,000 real cpu time) added with software idiosyncrasis (the program was saving part of the equation on a separate file which couldn't be accessed except by prior definition of the file to be used) proved a time-consuming hiccup in the process. Even with macro (high-level) commands the program was extended to and surpassed its capacity and found to be unapplicable under extremely complex model formulations (eg model 9 which fitted the data sufficiently well to be an accurate representation of the observed variables, could not be tested under the assumption that the measuring errors for all the variables were all interconnected). The models reproduced below are therefore presented with reserve of completion. Notwithstanding this argument, they are the most sophisticated modelling apparant for loneliness and also presents an indication of the most complex application of the LISREL V program given that the program, itself, was not modified (ie the program which is run under FORTRAN 77 was not modified to accept the complex modelling necessary).

The table below gives the goodness of fit index, adjusted goodness of fit index, and the root mean square residual for all the nine models. The graphic representation of the models are presented below with model nine presented as the final model in page 145.

| MODEL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| GFI | .35 | .47 | .32 | .45 | .94 | 1.0 | .48 | *** | .95 |
| GFI adj. | .25 | .37 | .22 | .29 | .97 | 1.0 | .44 | *** | .75 |
| RMSR | .31 | .26 | .29 | .26 | .08 | .00 | .19 | *** | .06 |

Two types of models were tested. Model 1 to 4 modelled the 'trait' approach to loneliness, with one representation of the loneliness variable across time. These models assumed that although loneliness varies across time this was not as important as the consistent level of loneliness. The fact that none of these models fitted the data, as illustrated in the table above, suggests that loneliness and its related cognitive indices cannot be modelled accurately as personality characteristics. The second set of models 5 to 9 approached loneliness and its cognitive associates as a weekly phenomenon across the five trials. Because the adjusted GFI was higher, these models in general represented that data much better than in models 1 to 4. Here the attempt was to find whether loneliness and its cognitive associates could be better modelled under two distinct variables of affect and heuristics or under one variable. Models 5 and 6 model the affective and heuristic variables separately. Model 7 combines all the observed variables under one latent variable across the five trials, while model eight combines the two latent variables as defined in models 5 and 6 as related but separate variables. The final model gets around the inverted matrix (***) by restricting the input of the affect variable to loneliness only rather than as a combination of feeling bad, anxious, and perceived level of social contact. The following models present a graphic representation of the key stages in the development of the final model.

The final model shows a lack of paths between the latent variables of Affect and Heuristics. This indicates that the measure of loneliness and of the five evaluative strategies are transient and non-cyclical. Two reasons could be posed for this result. Firstly that the measures of the observed variables reflect a stochastic process. That is, the measure used for loneliness (for example) was only determined by the present, transient situation, and did not tap those stable underlying processes which creates loneliness. This argument is accepted, and it was indeed the initial objective of the longitudinal study, to measure the transient nature of loneliness rather than as a characteristic of the personality. The fact that loneliness and other variables were also found to be stochastic tends to re-affirm the objectives of this study. The second reason is related to the nature of such concepts themselves. It has recently become accepted, that emotions are transient, non-cyclical, feedbacks (eg Averill, 1980; Izard, 1977). This theoretical proposition has received support from studies which have failed to find lagged correlations with an emotion (eg Lewinsohn & Libet, 1972) or an affectively-toned event (ie severe events; eg Stone & Neale, 1984). In one particularly well suited study for this argument (Epstein, 1973), day one to day two correlations showed a surprising variability across emotions (eg angry), situations (eg isolation), and impulses (eg self-punishment) without any predictive capacity. However the author argues (p55) that the "subjects did not acquire a rating set that raised the coefficients". This study suggests that these aspects of reality are more transient than presumed. The same finding is found for this model of loneliness, and also for the related evaluative strategies. That is, evaluating others on negative characteristics today does not mean that tomorrow you will hold the same views. The above model also indicates that although these evaluative strategies are not the same as loneliness, they are related components of the experience. One does not cause the other, the interplay is equal between the two different latent variables. Before these results are discussed, particular importance should be given to the error values (for variables), which were defined as zero. This represents a theoretical assumption that these subjective reports cannot have errors in measurement. Since the basis for this analysis and the present study as a whole, was based on subjective reports (as discussed in Chapter Two) it would be contradictory to argue that other factors (other than those measured) were interacting with the variables. Subjective reports, as reflected in this model, are accurately represented as central phenomenon and (in agreement with Leventhal, 1982) the basis for the data defining the presence of an emotional state.

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